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# ***Daily Report***

## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-91-224  
Wednesday  
20 November 1991

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-91-224

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20 November 1991

NOTICE TO READERS: An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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## Cameroon

### Reportage on Tripartite Talks, Developments

#### Opposition Parties Return to Talks

AB1811175591 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
1230 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] In Cameroon, the tripartite meeting is heading to a close in Yaounde. The key event on 13 November was the return of 13 opposition parties to the meeting of the government, political organizations, and the business community. The return of the radical opposition has eased this difficult situation, for which baneful consequences were feared.

Today the deliberations will focus on the review of the Cameroonian Constitution, an issue that constitutes one of the main points of the compromise reached which resulted in the return of the opposition to the negotiating table yesterday.

Raphael Mbadinga, our reporter in Yaounde, talked to the spokesman for the opposition coordination, Mr. Pierre-Flambeau Ngayap:

[Begin recording] [Ngayap] We signed an accord with the government in which the government and the opposition coordination parties have agreed to make reciprocal concessions regarding the points that were of much concern to the coordination parties, and that were, in particular, prerequisites for their participating in this meeting. In particular, the government has agreed that the issue of the Constitution be included on the meeting's agenda and the deliberations should continue until a new constitution is adopted; also, a fiscal moratorium with a grace period is to be granted to all businessmen, transporters, and others and who were victims of the Ghost Town operations. Bans on demonstrations and public meetings have been lifted. (?Military) operations will cease, and roadblocks will also be dismantled.

[Mbadinga] The return to and generally, the presence of 13 opposition parties at the Yaounde tripartite meeting, has actually weakened the opposition coordination. Also, according to Hameni Bieleu, chairman of the Democratic Forces of Cameroon, it was a complete disappointment:

[Bieleu] There was an unilateral decision by a number of parties which thought that they could negotiate with the government apart from the coordination's decisions. Some people are using the name of the coordination to legitimize some of their actions, and we do not agree with this. It is necessary to let the Cameroonian people know which parties were involved because the national radio did not mention their names.

[Nbadinga] What are the major parties involved?

[Bieleu] As you know, the most important is the Cameroon Democratic Union of Mr. Adamou Njoya; the Liberal Convention of Mr. Pierre-Flambeau Ngayap, who is one of the ringleaders of this clique; the Cameroonian Democratic

Union of Mr. Jean-Pierre N'dele; the PNP [expansion unknown] of Mr. Antar Gassaguei.

[Badinga] Therefore, according to you, would you say that there is a profound division within the Cameroon opposition?

[Bieleu] Yes, I believe that for the time being, there is a deep split because the original strategy, that is, the demand to hold a national conference, has been abandoned by some parties now in order to join the government. I think that the Cameroonian people should know this. The parties who are still fighting for a national conference to be held should distance themselves from those that think they could work hand in hand with the regime.

[Nbadinga] Does that mean that you are now giving up the struggle in which you have been fighting for several months now to have a national conference held?

[Bieleu] No, we are not giving up the fight. You know, there are parties such as the Union of the Democratic Forces of Cameroon, the Social Democratic Front, the Progressive Movement of Mr. Jean- Jacques Ekindi, the NNSD [expansion unknown] of Yondo Black, as well as the Integral Democracy in Cameroon of Mr. Shakan which are continuing the fight. We make up a certain number of parties that have refused to cooperate with the present government. We believe that we must continue fighting over the issue of the sovereign national conference, and I think we will organize ourselves to achieve this goal.

[Nbadinga] Some parties at the Yaounde tripartite meeting said they went to the meeting to be able to lay out this problem.

[Bieleu] You know, it was necessary to go to outline this problem. In the agreement they signed with the government, those parties said they have received a number of prerequisites. I think prerequisites must be fulfilled first, not later. Now, what do they want? I think that is [words indistinct].

[Nbadinga] Now, what is going to happen concretely on the side of the opposition parties that were in the minority?

[Bieleu] We shall certainly meet on 16 November in Douala, and we shall assess the situation. We shall make major decisions; that is, those parties that went to the tripartite meeting should come and explain to us why they attended. If they tell that they went because they wanted to defend the idea of a national conference, then we shall see. If they tell us that their step was the best and they want to continue in this direction, I think we should draw the consequences of their action. For the time being, we shall prepare that Saturday meeting so that it is held in a smooth atmosphere. But it is out of the

question that we should accept a step that does not show the aspirations of the people. [end recording]

### 10-Member Committee To Handle Reforms

*AB1811215091 Paris AFP in English 1922 GMT  
18 Nov 91*

[Text] Yaounde, Nov 18 (AFP)—The Cameroon government and opposition parties have agreed to entrust constitutional reforms to a 10-member committee, informed sources said here Monday [18 November].

The agreement came after a three-week parley also attended by non-political figures. The talks stalled at one stage when the main opposition groups walked out because Prime Minister Sadou Hayatou refused to let constitutional changes be discussed. The official agenda covered access for all parties to the public media and a code for the next elections.

But the parties came back and various reforms were discussed in broad terms. A final document said they would take account of experience elsewhere in broadening democracy and ensuring fundamental liberties and human rights within Cameroon realities.

The reform committee would examine a real separation of powers and a semi-presidential system with the president as head of state, a prime minister heading the government, and a national assembly legislating and supervising the government.

The formal status of the opposition would be spelt out. The opposition parties have for months been campaigning with strikes and demonstrations to force President Paul Biya to stage a national conference on the country's future. He refused, saying there was no point in such a parley as there was already a legal multi-party system.

### Tripartite Talks End; Hayatou Comments

*AB2011113291 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network  
in French 0530 GMT 19 Nov 91*

[Excerpt] The tripartite meeting ended yesterday at the Palais des Congres. There were free discussions on the electoral code, media ethics, and issues relating to the Constitution.

In his closing address yesterday, the prime minister and head of government, Sadou Hayatou, stressed Cameroon's complexity and commended the courage and patriotism of participants, whom he asked to always fight against extremism and blind intransigence. Sadou Hayatou also asked those who were absent from the Yaounde meeting to join the wind of patriotism blowing over Cameroon. In any case, the list of signatories of the declaration of 13 November 1991, in which opposition parties promised to suspend Operation Ghost Towns—a decision which prompted the government to promise to

reduce the special security measures—remains open to other people who wish to sign. Listen to Sadou Hayatou:

[Begin Hayatou recording] On behalf of all of you, I appeal to those of our countrymen who were deliberately absent from this great meeting and national reconciliation. I am asking them to join the strong wind of patriotism that is blowing over our country. Let them know that the list of signatories of the 13 November declaration is still open. Let them come in their turn and sign it so that together we can continue on the road towards greater national harmony and unity. [end recording] [passage omitted]

## Zaire

### Reportage on Government-Opposition Political Talks

#### Senegalese Emissary Brokers Accord

*AB1811191591 Paris AFP in English 1726 GMT  
18 Nov 91*

[Text] Kinshasa, Nov 18 (AFP)—Zaire's coalition of opposition parties and supporters of President Mobutu Sese Seko have reached a political agreement, Senegalese mediator Abdoulaye Wade said here Monday [18 November].

Wade, a minister of state, gave no details of the results of his five-day mission. He said there had been lengthy negotiations through Sunday night, ending in "perfect agreement except for how to name the prime minister." He then got the two parties to draft a text, and after more negotiation the pro-presidential United Democratic Forces accepted the version prepared by the opposition Holy Alliance, Wade said.

Speaking on Zairian radio before returning to Dakar, Wade said Senegalese President Abdou Diouf would come to Kinshasa for the signing of the agreement on Friday [22 November]. There was no immediate confirmation or comment from the two sides, which have been at loggerheads for months over sharing power.

#### Emissary Departs, Diouf 'Expected'

*EA1911213591 Bukavu Voix du Zaire in French  
1630 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] Mr. Abdoulaye Wade, an emissary of Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, ended his visit to the Zairian capital yesterday [Sunday, 17 November]. He held fruitful talks with the main opposition leaders, with Bishop Monsengwo, [word indistinct] chairman of the permanent executive committee of the sovereign national conference, with movements and political parties backing Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, and finally with the representative of [word indistinct] Belgian companies. [Passage indistinct].

Mr. Abdoulaye Wade [words indistinct] protocol of agreement for the formation of a government of national unity. This government will serve as the base for national reconciliation prior to the continuation of the democratization process. The United Democratic Forces, FDU, which also met the Senegalese minister, are in favor of the candidature of Mr. Nguz A Karl-I-Bond for the post of prime minister.

(?For his part), President Abdou Diouf is expected in Kinshasa on 21 or 22 November to seal the agreement.

#### **Disagreement Noted in Appointing Premier**

*AB2011085591 London BBC World Service in English  
0730 GMT 20 Nov 91*

[Text] The national conference on the political future of Zaire is due to resume today in the capital, Kinshasa, but disagreements have emerged over the procedures for appointing a new prime minister. A formula, announced on Monday [18 November] by a Senegalese mediator, Mr. Abdoulaye Wade, has been questioned by the coalition aligned to President Mobutu, the United Democratic Forces.

The formula spoke of an interim head of government selected by the opposition coalition, the Sacred Union. But the United Democratic Forces spokesman said this was not acceptable. The spokesman said the coalition had agreed with Mr. Wade that an opposition representative could be prime minister but not that the Sacred Union should choose

him or her. He said the United Democratic Forces wanted a prime minister appointed by a consensus or by the reconvened national conference.

The two factions have been locked in a power struggle since the Sacred Union's nominee, Mr. Etienne Tshisekedi, was sacked last month by President Mobutu.

#### **National Conference To Reconvene 19 Nov**

*AB1811200091 Bukavu Voix du Zaire in French  
0500 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] It is official: the work of the sovereign national conference will reconvene tomorrow at 1400. Clearly, tomorrow's plenary session will appoint the new interim team charged with organizing the work until the election of the definitive team. As is known, the delegates at the national forum accepted the resignation of the former interim team on 15 November.

At the plenary session tomorrow, which is to be held at the people's palace, a tripartite meeting of political parties, civilian societies and public institutions will take place at 1000 in the [word indistinct] conference hall.

The announcement of the plenary session of the national conference has been received with satisfaction by the public, though it has not succeeded in removing the skepticism with which it awaits the progress of the work. [Words indistinct] some worries. However, it remains true that the national conference, in the eyes of all Zairians, represents the mandatory path to the Third Republic so awaited by all Zairian people. The conference should therefore represent the prime concern of every mediation effort.

**SACP Western Cape Congress Meets 16 Nov****Boesak Slams Attack on Olympic Body**

*MB1611142391 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1300 GMT 16 Nov 91*

[Text] At the SACP's [South African Communist Party] Western Cape Congress today, Allan Boesak slammed the government for time-wasting on negotiations.

The Western Cape ANC [African National Congress] regional chairman told the delegates that the ruling National Party is departing from the negotiations agenda by criticizing the National Olympic Committee of South Africa's [NOCSA] decision to drop the white minority anthem and springbok for the Barcelona Olympics.

He says State President F.W. de Klerk's attack on NOCSA indicates a fundamental lack of understanding and proper argument on the issues that really matter. Boesak says these major issues include the nature and authority of an interim government and the demand for an elected Constituent Assembly.

**Chairman, Secretary Elected 17 Nov**

*MB1811054391 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2019 GMT 17 Nov 91*

[Text] Cape Town Nov 17 SAPA—A Construction and Allied Workers Union shop-steward, Fred Gona, has been elected chairman of the Western Cape region of the South African Communist Party.

In a statement on Sunday the SACP said another union official, Lizo Nkonki of the Food and Allied Workers Union, had been elected secretary in a secret ballot monitored by an independent election commission.

Lerumo Kalako was elected as deputy chairman.

According to the statement the regional conference discussed a wide range of political and organisational issues in preparation for the SACP's national congress.

Political discussions centred around the SACP's draft manifesto and constitution due for adoption at the national congress.

**Mandela Meets New York Mayor; Cites Sanctions**

*MB1311120091 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0800 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] says it knows that sanctions have been detrimental to South Africa's economy. Welcoming New York's mayor David Dinkins in Johannesburg yesterday, ANC President Nelson Mandela said although sanctions were the will of the people they have been harmful.

(Begin Mandela recording) In spite of the fact that it is the decision of the people that there should be pressures

against South Africa, including that of economic sanctions, we are well aware of the damage which they have done to our economy. [end recording]

Mandela says the ANC is also making moves to ensure the damage is minimized as far as possible.

Dinkins yesterday visited Soweto and Baragwanath Hospital. The New York Mayor described conditions at a shanty settlement he saw, as depressing. He said the overcrowding at Baragwanath is worrying.

Dinkins is on a week-long visit to South Africa.

**Mandela, U.S. Official Hold 'Very Fruitful' Talks**

*MB1911164991 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1509 GMT 19 Nov 91*

[By Raphael Banda]

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 19 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela said on Tuesday [19 November] the search for a non-racial system of government in South Africa was on course, but he criticised the "current rhetoric between actors in the negotiation process". He made the remarks after meeting US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen in Johannesburg. He briefed Mr Cohen on the latest position in the negotiation process. Mr Mandela told reporters during a photo session that he had told Mr Cohen of "our confidence that the peace process is on track".

His comment comes a few days after a row over his announcement that crucial all-party talks would be held on November 29 and 30. The government swiftly replied saying the ANC leader was "presumptuous".

"Our discussions were very fruitful," Mr Mandela said of the first high-profile meeting of Mr Cohen since he arrived on Sunday [17 November] for his visit here. Mr Cohen said he had a feeling the "negotiation process is on track" and "we should see considerable movement towards a solution in 1992". He added: "I feel the situation (towards constitutional negotiations) is much improved".

But Mr Mandela, apparently referring to sharp words from the government over his announcement of the all-party talks dates, took issue with "the rhetoric that is going on at the moment". In addition, a meeting of the committee laying the ground for the talks failed to take place on Friday, amid a squabbling over who attends the meeting. Mr Mandela said "in the interests of blacks and whites" it was imperative that political leaders press ahead with the negotiation process.

He said he had explained to Mr Cohen the ANC's position on nationalisation and discussions with business leaders on an alternative to confront economic imbalances wrought by apartheid. "We have resorted to nationalisation (because) it is the only way of redressing the economic imbalances. This is a question that is under

discussion (with business leaders) at the moment," Mr Mandela said after shaking hands with Mr Cohen.

In a recent speech to business leaders in Johannesburg ANC General Secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC planned to forge a new taxation policy. He also urged the manufacturing sector to underpin the South African economy because it remained vulnerable to shifts in the world economy as a result of depending largely on the mining sector.

#### **Student Group President Reaffirms Support for PAC**

*MB1311194291 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1500 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[Text] The president of the Pan Africanist Students Organization [PASO] has reaffirmed his organization's support for the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress].

Yesterday, PASO's general secretary issued a statement criticizing the PAC leadership for going into talks with the government, and threatening to pull the student body out of the PAC.

But today the PASO president, (Langelo Mbandazayo), has issued a statement saying it's not true. (Mbandazayo) says PASO is fully behind the PAC leadership and that his general secretary is completely out of line.

The PASO wrangle could prove embarrassing for Azapo's [Azanian People's Organization] youth wing, too. The Azanian Youth Organization, Azayo, released a statement today saluting PASO's supposed stand on contacts with the government.

#### **Azanian Youth Support PAC Youth on Talks**

*MB1311194391 Johannesburg SABA in English  
1848 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 13 SABA—The Azanian Youth Organisation [Azayo] on Wednesday saluted the decision taken by the Pan-Africanist Congress' [PAC] student wing in rejecting the pre-constituent assembly meeting on Friday.

Azayo President Mr Thami Mcerwa said in a statement: "We welcome the position taken by the PAC student wing, the Pan Africanist Students Organisation [PASO], in opposing the African National Congress, South African Government and the PAC planned Friday meeting of the pre-constituent assembly".

"PASO, Azanyu and Azayo have planned a meeting, although the date is still to be confirmed, to discuss... the outcome of the results of the Patriotic Front."

Mr Mcerwa added "this meeting is to ensure that the Azanian youth in particular and the black working class are not used as pawns in the government inter-woven by the F.W. de Klerk regime".

The statement suggested that the planned meeting would also focus on the powers given to the minister of constitutional and development affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, as the chief negotiator for the "discredited homelands" at the all party conference.

#### **Ciskei's Gqozo Welcomes Pretoria Support Statement**

*MB1311194591 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1400 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[Text] Ciskei has welcomed the announcement by Acting Foreign Affairs Minister Barend du Plessis that the South African Government has no intention of supporting an interim government for the homeland.

Military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo says he expected no less, because State President F. W. de Klerk is a man of honor and credibility. Gqozo says the South African Government has shown it is not being misled by the hysteria of a group of misinformed individuals who are unwilling to recognize the efforts being made to ensure peace.

He says it is quite clear that Pretoria is fully aware of the real situation in Ciskei.

#### **Reportage on Failed Ciskei Gqozo-Mandela Meeting**

##### **Mandela Says Situation Unacceptable**

*ME1611091991 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0600 GMT 16 Nov 91*

[Text] Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, is to meet ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela this weekend for talks about tensions in the region. The time and venue of the meeting have not yet been finalized.

Mandela addressed a meeting at East London's City Hall last night where he said the situation in Ciskei could not be accepted as it is.

##### **Mandela Scathes Gqozo's Absence**

*MB1611192791 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network  
in English 1800 GMT 16 Nov 91*

[Text] The scheduled meeting between Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela didn't take place today because Brig. Gqozo wasn't in his official residence.

Speaking in East London, Mr. Mandela described Brig. Gqozo as a coward and a man who didn't keep his word. He urged people to support demonstrations to be staged against the Ciskeian leadership next week. Mr. Mandela also called for the multiparty congress to take place as soon as possible.

[Begin Mandela recording] The purpose of that congress is to charter the way forward to a democratic South Africa. In spite of the problems that have arisen, I am going to urge Mr. de Klerk not to panic, not to lose his nerve, not to attack and now concentrating on attacking the African National Congress, because the cooperation between these two organizations is very essential for the success of the peace process in this country. [end recording]

### **Gqozo Rebuts Mandela Remarks**

*MB1611200991 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1959 GMT 16 Nov 91*

[Text] East London Nov 16 SAPA—Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo denied that he was not available for a meeting with ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela on Saturday.

In a statement on Saturday, the Ciskei Council of State chairman said he had made numerous efforts over the past two days "to communicate personally" with Mr Mandela.

Mr Mandela, however, told a rally in the city on Saturday that Brig Gqozo had turned down a proposed meeting this weekend to discuss the Ciskeian state of emergency.

He accused Brig Gqozo of running away and said the Ciskeian leader should be replaced.

In reply to the ANC accusation, the statement said Brig Gqozo and his ministers would have welcomed the opportunity to brief Mr Mandela on the situation in the Ciskei, and they regretted that the ANC leader's staff chose to ignore them.

Such a visit could have contributed greatly to a normalisation of the situation and prevented further violence, the statement said.

Brig Gqozo said he also regretted Mr Mandela's statement on Saturday that the ANC national leadership endorsed plans by its local chapter to stage protest marches in the Ciskei next week, and said the ANC was trying to destabilize his government.

### **Ciskei Releases 'Some Political Prisoners'**

*MB1811102991 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0900 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] Some political prisoners have already been released in the Ciskei. This follows the lifting of the 17-day-old state of emergency yesterday.

The house of a prominent ANC [African National Congress] official in the area was also petrol-bombed last night. Clair Keaton has details:

[Keaton] Several detainees have been released in the Ciskei since late yesterday afternoon. The chairman of the Alice ANC branch said nine people have been freed

there, while the chairman of the Whittlesea branch said he has heard people from villages have been released.

ANC Border Publicity Secretary Marion Sparg says she has heard unconfirmed reports of releases since the lifting of the state of emergency in Ciskei yesterday. The minister of police could not be reached for comment.

The lifting of the emergency followed an urgent meeting yesterday between Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and ANC President Nelson Mandela.

Meanwhile the Alice home of ANC NEC [National Executive Committee] member, Rev. Arnold Stofile, was petrol-bombed late last night. No one was injured, as the two bombs did not ignite and damaged the outside of the house only. Rev. Stofile told the police not to come to his house to investigate as he knows they are involved.

### **Ciskei's Gqozo Rejects ANC Call for Resignation**

*MB1911101291 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0600 GMT 19 Nov 91*

[Text] Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has rejected the ANC [African National Congress] call for his resignation. As Claire Keaton reports, Gqozo says he will not hand over power to an interim administration:

[Keaton] A spokesman for the Ciskei government says Brig. Gqozo is not planning to hand over to an interim administration. The spokesman says the government will not accept outside interference in its affairs, and believes the regional violence is not related to Gqozo's leadership.

Meanwhile, a delegation of 18 MP's [Members of Parliament] from different political parties in South Africa arrived at Ciskei's (Bulembu) Airport yesterday. Led by the National Party, the visit is part of a 5-day fact-finding mission to the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states by the parliamentary foreign policy study group.

Ciskei's minister of foreign affairs said the purpose of the visit is to inform the group about the local political situation and to build closer cooperation with South Africa on development.

The group will visit Umtata later today.

### **RSA Parliamentarians Visit Ciskei, 'Impressed'**

*MB1911101791 Johannesburg South African  
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English  
0500 GMT 19 Nov 91*

[Text] A South African parliamentary delegation on a fact-finding and familiarization visit to Ciskei says it is impressed with the Ciskeian government's commitment to law and order, and to the promotion of peace and stability in that country.

The 18-strong delegation consists of members of all three houses of Parliament, and is led by the chairman of

the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Dr. Boy Geldenhuys.

Dr. Geldenhuys said the decision by Ciskei's Council of State to lift the state of emergency had been taken from a position of strength. He said he believed the Ciskeian leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and his government had embarked on the correct course of action.

#### **NUMSA's Xulu Accuses 'Liberals' of 'Setup'**

*MB1511131591 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1232 GMT 15 Nov 91*

[By Craig Doonan]

[Text] Durban Nov 15 SAPA—The suspended president of the National Union of Metal Workers of SA [South Africa] [NUMSA], Maxwell Xulu, on Friday charged allegations that he was a police informer were part of a "setup" by a "network of liberals" in the union opposed to his presidency and intent on dominating NUMSA. NUMSA announced Mr Xulu's suspension on Thursday "after overwhelming evidence that he had for some years been providing information to the security police".

Mr Xulu, a senior shop steward at a Durban manufacturing company, described the allegations as "blatant lies" in a telephone interview on Friday.

"There must be some mastermind engineering the whole thing. I deny the allegations. I believe there's a broad network of liberals in and out of the union trying to get rid of those who they think are blocking their dominance and ideas from getting through."

Mr Xulu said he believed the "network" stretched from local to national level.

"I believe this setup is a professional job which cannot be done by one man. It must be a big network of a very sophisticated nature that can only be done by professionals."

"The aim of the mastermind behind this whole thing is to seek to see to it that he or she gets rid of me for once and for all. And his or her hands will be clean because there will be enough groundwork for an assassination and the blame will be left with the masses."

Mr Xulu said he was also sceptical as to whether the decision to suspend him was discussed and taken by NUMSA's Central Committee and he voiced his disapproval at the committee's reluctance to institute a commission of inquiry into the allegations.

Meanwhile, Mr Xulu is to seek an interdict preventing further publicity on the matter until a commission of inquiry is set up and its findings made known to union members.

Mr Xulu reiterated his denial of the allegations and said he had never had dealings with the security police.

#### **Law, Order Ministry Statement Noted**

*MB1511164391 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1430 GMT 15 Nov 91*

[Text] Pretoria Nov 15 SAPA—The Ministry of Law and Order on Friday refused to comment on speculation that Maxwell Xulu, ousted president of the National Union of Metalworkers [of South Africa; NUMSA], had been an agent of the SA [South African] security police.

The allegations—vehemently denied by Mr Xulu—were widely published this week.

In a statement on Friday, the ministry noted that in line with SA Police policy and international practice, no comment would be issued on speculation concerning the possible identity of police informants or agents.

"It must be borne in mind that the SA Police does not monitor legitimate organisations whose aims and modus operandi fall within the ambit of the law."

"However, this principle does not negate the duty of the SA Police to obtain information, through informers, on any potential or actual crime," the statement concluded.

#### **Top Police Official Views Crime Situation**

*MB1011134591 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR  
in English 10 Nov 91 p 11*

[Report on interview with South African Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe by Maureen Isaacson in his Wachthuis offices; date not given—first paragraph is SUNDAY STAR introduction]

[Text] With 116 police officers murdered so far this year and the crime reaching new heights, many people are asking what the forces of law and order are doing to cope. The country's top policeman, General Johan van der Merwe, discussed some of the problems with Maureen Isaacson.

Despite the headaches he faces during an 11-hour day, SAP [South African Police] Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe (55), sleeps well at night. But the family man who sees himself as "the one person to protect the interests of every member of the force and to ensure police protect the community," is thinking positively with regard to the force right now.

Yes, the murders of policemen (116 so far this year), are a cause of major concern, says General van der Merwe.

"Yes, people are becoming barbaric, human lives are cheap, the crime we face is terribly frustrating," says he. But the Ermelo-born police chief who came to his position in January last year has progress on his mind.

"If you compare the situation with police forces in other countries, we're convinced that our situation is better. Talks with commissioners in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Austria and Canada have shown me that their police forces have the same problems."

"Since we formed the Crime Combating Investigation Unit the number of crimes solved has increased significantly.

"I'm also hopeful because we restructured the force as a whole on August 1 and have established a pro-active Crime Prevention Unit, part of the visible policing campaign."

Directing the 112,000-strong force (including civilians) through a changing South Africa needs detailed planning, says the general, leaning forward in his chair in his Wachthuis office with its picture of F.W. de Klerk on the wall.

"Our motto is 'training, retraining and in-service training' to enable them to cope with day-to-day changes."

His ultimate goal is "quality efficient service to protect all inhabitants of this country."

As he emphasises the need to be seen to be impartial.

"We also have a new approach to protect our members and assist with training and dealing with many daily dangerous situations. Policemen must be experts."

With the sureness and verve of one who could well be addressing the entire SAP force, General van der Merwe talks of plans: "We're bringing in a special task force to assist with training—we're now embarking on more specialised training to defend against attack and dangerous situations where we have to approach suspects in cars."

And looking at the issue of the day, in this case the COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] anti-VAT [value-added tax] strike, the general frowns.

"It is difficult," he says, "to get proof of intimidation—we're conducting extensive investigations. We've made special arrangements to increase police presence in all these areas where we've been expecting intimidation but it cannot be prevented—it happens in such a subtle manner—they've developed it to a fine art."

General van der Merwe, who wanted to be a policeman from the age of 13, is at pains to dispel poor images of the police.

"The latest research tells us that the image has improved considerably. It is important for us to establish a communication system with the communities where there was once, a sometimes still is, a lack of trust. We also hope that the mechanisms created in terms of the peace accord have given us the opportunity to improve our image."

Crime, says General van der Merwe emphatically, is not out of control. "I would rather say, 'very serious.' At this stage there is an improvement—if one compares recent statistics with those of last year it is not deteriorating—if we take into consideration population growth and other factors.

"The restructuring of the police force and all steps taken thus far will enable us to cope with the crime situation and if we get cooperation from the public we will be able to fight crime effectively.

"I must stress that we can only treat the symptoms, the real causes of the crimes will only be dealt with by the public."

### Police 'Powerless' To Seize 'Traditional Weapons'

MB1911074091 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0203 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 18 SAPA—Armed groups of men used umbrellas to conceal their pangas [large knives] and knobkerries to evade police metal detectors before a violent outbreak on a Soweto train on Monday—but they need not have bothered.

In a startling revelation on Monday night, a senior police officer disclosed that the SAP [South African Police] are powerless to seize any weapons other than firearms unless the persons carrying them clearly displayed "criminal intent".

This effectively tied the hands of the police who were deployed in force with metal detectors at Soweto stations on Monday as part of a joint pilot project aimed at ensuring the safety of embattled train commuters subjected to continuous attacks in recent months.

In terms of the project the police had been supplied with 50 portable metal detectors to stage random station checks in Soweto.

Soweto regional liaison officer Col Jac de Vries said in terms of the law—as defined by Section 12 of the Legal Succession of Transport Services Act of 1989—no person was permitted to take a firearm aboard a train without prior permission.

Not included in the act are pangas, knives, sharpened sticks and a host of "traditional weapons".

"The metal detectors can prevent firearms from being taken on trains. The other weapons ... We cannot do anything about unless the guy shows criminal intent," Col De Vries said.

Police said 14 passengers were injured on Monday in fighting aboard the Soweto train as it moved between Mlamlankunzi and New Canada stations.

The fighting broke out in one carriage during an argument between two groups. No shots were fired and most of the people who were injured hurt themselves when they jumped off the moving train.

Police spokesman Lt-Col Tienie Haigryn said the armed men boarded the train at Kliptown station at 6.15am.

Police believe they had hidden their weapons, including pangas and knobkerries, in umbrellas.

Railway authorities have disclosed that commuters have been deserting trains in favour of other forms of transport at a rate of 10 per cent a month for the past six months—many out of fear of attack.

### No Plans To Change Seizure Laws

MB191113491 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0922 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 19 SAPA—There are no plans by the police to make changes to the law which prevents them from confiscating pangas [large knives] and knobkerries on trains where passengers have been targeted for attacks in recent months, says law and order spokesman Brig Leon Mellett.

The announcement follows statements by a senior police officer that the South African police were powerless to seize weapons other than firearms unless people carrying them displayed "criminal intent".

Brig Mellett said even a legal change would not help the police in their efforts to root out the criminals.

"Our hands are tied. What is a dangerous weapon? Even a teaspoon when used with criminal intent becomes dangerous.

"Many commuters carry their tools of trade, including screwdrivers, plumbing tools, hacksaws or hammers, and we simply cannot remove this equipment from passengers," Brig Mellett said.

"Even the confiscation of a panga is not all that straightforward as gardeners may use these items to cut grass or thatching," he said.

On Monday police used metal detectors to search commuters at Soweto stations in an effort to ensure the safety of embattled train commuters.

Soweto liaison officer Col Jac de Vries said on Monday that in terms of Section 12 of the Legal Succession of Transport Services Act of 1989, no one was allowed to take a firearm aboard a train without permission.

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Police spokesman Col Tienie Halgryn said the armed men boarded the train at Kliptown station at 6.15am. Police believe they evaded the metal detectors by hiding pangas and knobkerries in umbrellas.

### Commission on Violence Holds First Meeting 15 Nov

MB1511165191 Johannesburg South African  
Broadcasting Corporation Network in Afrikaans  
1400 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] The committee of the Goldstone Commission of Investigation on the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation held its first meeting behind closed doors in Pretoria this morning.

No evidence on the recent violence and intimidation at Thokoza was heard, and the committee will continue its activities on Tuesday.

On the question of violence at the President Steyn mine near Welkom, Judge Goldstone said a meeting will be held this week between the parties concerned after which a further statement will be issued.

### IFP Postponement Request Turned Down

MB1511181091 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1640 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Pretoria Nov 15 SAPA—A committee investigating the recent violence at Thokoza on Friday turned down an application from the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) for a postponement.

The committee, chaired by Advocate S. Sithole of the Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, will proceed to hold an in loco inspection of Thokoza on Sunday and start to hear evidence in Pretoria next Tuesday [19 November].

Mr Max Mosselson, for the IFP, on Friday requested the two-week postponement at the committee's opening session.

He said the IFP was "financially embarrassed" and needed time to raise funds for legal representation.

Mr Sithole also read into the committee's record a letter addressed to him from IFP Central Committee member Ms Suzanne Vos, who stated that the issue of IFP not being legally represented "may well jeopardise our efforts to persuade our constituents that they must support and actively assist us all in implementing each and every provision entailed in the (peace) accord.

"We wish to vigorously counter this before any damage is done."

Explaining his ruling, Mr Sithole said the committee felt the IFP had had three weeks to raise funds since its first correspondence with the committee, while there was no evidence the IFP had taken specific measures to raise funds.

It appeared the IFP was for some reason or other not prepared to get permission to use "US aid" funds at its disposal, Mr Sithole said.

Mr Sithole also referred to an offer Lawyers for Human Rights's [LHR] national director, Mr Brian Curren, had made during the proceedings.

Mr Currin said LHR could find funds for the IFP to be legally represented until the date it had asked the proceedings to be postponed to, November 29.

The IFP also said in correspondence to the committee, read out on Friday, that lack of legal representation would place the IFP "at a severe disadvantage" and that justice would not be served.

A range of lawyers will be representing various parties during the inquiry.

Mr W.L. Wepener, of the State Attorney's Office, on Friday appeared for the minister of law and order and for policemen.

Mr David Dison and Ms Cathy Albertyn appeared for the Thokoza Civic Organisation and the late Sam Ntuli's family. Mr Dison said he had obtained the services of private investigators.

Mr Currin said LHR had been involved in monitoring the violence.

Mr D.M. Barry appeared for the African National Congress, the Congress of South Africa Trade Union (Cosatu) and the South African Communist Party.

Mr Mosselson appeared for the IFP.

Mr J.J. du Toit would be counsel for the committee, while Mr T. Pretorius would lead evidence. Mr J. van Eeden is the committee's secretary, while Maj Henk Heslinga of the South African Police would assist the committee.

Mr Sithole said the inquiry was a "critical and urgent" matter because three people a day were being killed in Thokoza.

Mainly police evidence is expected to be heard next week.

#### **ANC Responds to 'Internal Stability' Police Plan**

*MB1111193991 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1502 GMT 11 Nov 91*

[SAPA PR wire service issued by Sydney Mufamadi, ANC peace initiative coordinator, in the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity, P O Box 81884, Marshalltown, 2107, on 11 November: "Response to the announcement of the minister of police, Mr Hernus Kriel, about a special 17,500 strong "internal stability" police unit"]

[Text] The African National Congress [ANC] is deeply concerned about the announcement by the minister of law and order at the National Party's Transvaal Congress to the effect that an "internal stability" police unit of 17,500 members will be established.

We have consistently insisted that the police have a duty to protect the lives of all citizens. But we also believe that this must be done in consultation with the community, and government should not act unilaterally. We are appalled by the fact that Mr Kriel did not even have the decency to put the matter before the signatories to the Peace Accord. This unilateralism and prescriptive attitude shows that the regime has not come to terms with the fact that it is not the only player in the situation. The ANC will do everything in its power to promote the aims and spirit of the Peace Accord, and we think that the best way to do so is to empower the community by using the accord implementation structures.

We have noted that after making the announcement of his intention, the minister did say that he is going to consult with other players. It is interesting to see that the question of consultation only came up as a hindsight. This is typical of National Party arrogance. We hope that all South Africans of goodwill will make common cause with us to correct this.

#### **Air Force Disbands 'Renowned' 30 Squadron 15 Nov**

*MB1511180791 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network  
in English 1600 GMT 15 Nov 91*

[Text] The 30 Squadron, which played a significant role in the Oceanos sea rescue, has been disbanded. The unit laid up its colors in a ceremony at Ysterplaat Air Force Base in Cape Town today as part of the South Africa Air Force's rationalization process. Ed Herbst reports:

[Begin Herbst recording] To most South Africans, 30 Squadron will be remembered for its rescue operations during the sinking of the Oceanos earlier this year, and for the role it played in the Laingsburg disaster 10 years ago. It was, however, formed in 1944, and its pilots, flying Aurora bombers, fought with distinction in the Italian campaign.

It was disbanded in 1945, and reactivated in 1980. Its personnel quickly became renowned for their bravery and skill in maritime and mountain search-and-rescue missions, often in the most hazardous conditions and the most inclement weather.

At today's ceremony the chief of the Air Force [title as heard], Lieutenant General James Kriel, said that while it was a sad day for 30 Squadron, the skill and hard-earned experience of the crews and aircraft will still remain in the Cape to serve the local community.

He also announced that Ysterplaat, the base of which 30 Squadron has been so significant a part, has created Air Force history by winning the Sword of Peace for the third consecutive year. [end recording]

### **New Air Force Chief Speaks on Air Force Role**

*MB1811181791 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] The new chief of the South African Air Force, Lieutenant General James Kriel, says the Air Force's new mission is to provide cost effective operational flights. Gen. Kriel said the force's clients included the Army, the Navy, and the South African public. However, he emphasized that the Air Force's first priority was still to deal effectively with any conventional threat.

Gen. Kriel was speaking to the media after a demonstration during which two Mirage F-1 combat aircraft were refueled simultaneously from a Boeing 707 while on a flight between Gravelotte and Groblersdal.

### **Midair Refueling, 'Smart Bomb' Test Noted**

*MB1811183091 Johannesburg SABA in English 1759 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] Pretoria Nov 18 SABA—The South African Air Force would remain a deterrent despite defence budget cutbacks, Air Force chief Gen James Kriel said on Monday [18 November]. He was speaking in a Boeing 707 after it had been used in an inflight refuelling exercise involving two F-1 Mirages from Hoedspruit Air Base in the Eastern Transvaal.

It was also announced on Monday that Cheetah fighters from Hoedspruit had recently sunk a target with a smart bomb south of Cape Town, after remaining aloft for five hours by taking on fuel from a Boeing from 60 Squadron.

Gen Kriel said that by closing certain bases and through other cost-cutting measures, the Air Force had been able to concentrate on important projects and remain a force to be reckoned with. It had redefined its mission, and saw itself as the prime, client-oriented supplier of a range of airborne services. "The whole South Africa can be proud of the Air Force," he said.

### **Violence Erupts Again in Cape Town 'Taxi' War**

#### **Police Step Up Manpower**

*MB1311115991 Johannesburg SABA in English 1039 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[By Francois Krige]

[Text] Cape Town Nov 13 SABA—The SA [South African] Police [SAP] stepped up its manpower and has called on the defence force for supplementary assistance in quelling the ongoing 'taxi war' in the townships in and around Cape Town.

Major Gys Boonzaaier of the local Police Liaison Department said 106 policemen had been deployed in these areas in the past two months and a further 100 will be deployed as soon as logistically possible.

Maj Boonzaaier said the SA Defence Force [SADF] had been assisting the police regularly but that the police had now asked for further assistance.

On Tuesday, the office of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, one of the founder members of the Peace Committee, requested an increase in SADF presence in the townships.

Fighting broke out between rival groups early on Wednesday at the Nyanga bus terminus, police confirmed.

Between 30 and 40 Webta [Western Cape Black Taxi Association] taxi drivers arrived at the terminus soon after 6am and between 45 and 50 men walked in the direction of the Sizamile Garage armed with pangas [large knives] and axes, while another group of about 30 men, suspected to be Lagunya supporters, approached from the direction of KTC.

Before police at the scene could intervene shots were fired by the KTC group at the Webta drivers and a fight broke out.

The KTC group ran back and the Webta group returned to their taxis. Police could not confirm any casualties but described the present situation as "very tense".

Police seized five firearms on Tuesday, including automatic rifles, at a house at Site C, Khayelitsha, and another search in the day found a telescopic sight for a .22 rifle at the same house. They also seized a 9mm pistol and 19 rounds after a group of men attacked a taxi driver and robbed him of his vehicle. They could not identify his affiliation.

Five shacks to the value of about R[and]6,000 were destroyed in Nyanga east. All the shacks belonged to a Lagunya driver and the incident is believed to be related to the taxi war.

Police stopped a white minibus in Voortrekker Road, Bellville on Tuesday and found an unlicensed .38 special and five rounds. Five men are being held for questioning.

### **Peace Committee Urges SADF Patrols**

*MB1311120191 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0800 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[Text] The Cape Town Peace Committee has called for the South African Defense Force [SADF] to patrol the major transport routes surrounding the townships. Their appeal follows an urgent meeting of the committee yesterday after renewed outbreaks of violence in the taxi war. The committee says the call reflects its grave concern over the safety of commuters and members of the public. The committee says there is a need for road blocks to be set up so that thorough weapons searches can take place on a repeated basis.

**PAC Opposes Call for SADF Patrols***MB1310112091 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1031 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[Text] Cape Town Nov 13 SAPA—The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) has condemned a call by the Cape Town Peace Committee for troops to be deployed in the townships in a bid to end the taxi war.

In a statement on Tuesday, the peace committee called for the SADF [South African Defense Force] to patrol major transport [word indistinct] and routes in particularly Nyanga and Khayelitsha.

The PAC's secretary for foreign affairs, Ms Patricia De Lille, said on Wednesday the PAC "sees difference between the police and the army".

"We should make up our minds. First we call for the troops to leave the townships. Now, the call is for the army to go back into the townships."

Ms De Lille said the deployment of troops would "inevitably lead to them shooting at our people", which would cause an outcry.

She said the PAC believed alternative ways of ending the conflict by consultation and negotiation within the community should instead be pursued.

**SADF Commander Comments***MB1511181791 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1747 GMT 15 Nov 91*

[Text] Cape Town Nov 15 SAPA—The months'-long taxi war in Cape Town townships could only be solved by the warring organisations, and not by the deployment of troops, Brig D.P. Lamprecht, officer-commanding Western Province Command, said on Friday.

He assured that soldiers would be impartial in their duties, and be under the command of their own officers.

He also proposed a joint mechanism whereby the belligerent groups could enforce greater discipline among the various taxi operators.

"South African Defence Force [SADF] involvement in the taxi conflict can at best be a short-term solution. Therefore, the perception that the solution lies in the large-scale deployment of troops, is not correct," Brig Lamprecht said in a statement.

The SADF would raise its force levels in order to assist police in quelling the violence, but troops would at all times remain under the command of their own officers and follow SADF doctrine in executing their duties.

"These troops will undergo retraining and the emphasis will (include) correct search techniques and showing courtesy to the population.

"The troops will be briefed and specifically prepared to act in a disciplined, apolitical manner. It is guaranteed that troops will take an impartial stance," he said.

He urged the relevant taxi organisations to come to an understanding, and to show self-restraint and self-discipline and control their operations so it was to their mutual benefit.

"I also suggest that they jointly put up a local mechanism which can enforce greater discipline amongst the different taxi operators. This I see as a far better and more permanent solution to the current conflict than a large-scale troop deployment.

"Should these organisations fail to achieve the necessary cooperation, cheaper and more cost-effective measures than large scale deployment of troops will have to be considered.

"This may include that the taxi operations be drastically curtailed, which is to their own detriment."

**Mayor Speaks to Assigned Troops***MB1911060591 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1937 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[By Enrico Kemp]

[Text] Cape Town Nov 18 SAPA—Cape Town Mayor Frank van der Velde on Monday [18 November] addressed a company of defence force troops on the need for fair and impartial action while operating in townships stricken by the taxi war violence. But journalists invited by the SADF [South African Defense Force] were requested not to report either the mayor's presence or his speech because Mr van der Velde feared it would "create the impression that he was siding with the SADF".

A week ago, the Cape Town Peace Committee initiated by Mr van der Velde and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu called for the immediate deployment of troops in the townships to patrol the major transport routes following a fresh outbreak of taxi war violence. SADF liaison officer Lt Johan van Schalkwyk said Mr van der Velde had been invited by the SADF to address about 100 Cape Corps soldiers from Group 40 being deployed in support of the police in the townships.

Lt van Schalkwyk contacted the mayor's office to enquire whether Mr van der Velde would have any objections to the press being invited and was assured by the city council's public relations officer, Mr Ted Doman, that "there would be no problem with the media in attendance". Mr van der Velde, however, did object to the media presence and, at his request, Lt van Schalkwyk asked journalists present not to report the mayor's presence or his speech to the troops. Reporters were prevented from listening to the mayor's address to the soldiers assembled on the parade ground.

"We have to apologise for an apparent misunderstanding between ourselves, Mr Doman and the mayor's

office. However, we respect the mayor's wish that there should be no press coverage as he fears that it would create the impression that he is siding with the SADF and this will be detrimental to efforts to quell the taxi violence," Lt van Schalkwyk said.

The troops deployed on Monday have all undergone intensive re-training in search and cordoning techniques and riot control principles. They will provide protective cordons during police operations, man roadblocks and patrol affected areas.

The soldiers, all equipped with R4 rifles and teargas, fall under the command of their own officers. Lt van Schalkwyk said the troops had "specific instructions to show courtesy to the public and act in a just and disciplined manner at all times".

He said Brig Dan Lamprecht, officer commanding Western Province Command, had "personally guaranteed the impartiality of his troops" and any complaints against soldiers from the community should be directed to Brig Lamprecht at 408-721/2/3 or the SADF media liaison office at 408-7260.

#### **Role of Troops Discussed**

*MB1911062491 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2014 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] Cape Town Nov 18 SAPA—A special police and defence force mobile unit to monitor the taxi war was launched on Monday [18 November]. Brig Frik Kellerman, head of operations in the Western Cape, said between 100 and 200 "fully-trained" policemen and soldiers were being deployed in the areas troubled by the conflict, mainly Nyanga and Khayelitsha. He said the unit would set up roadblocks, patrol taxi routes and ranks and search taxis.

The unit would concentrate on disarming the two factions, Lagunya and the Western Cape Black Taxi Association [Webta], and keeping them apart as much as possible while negotiations for a peaceful settlement continued. They

would be supported by about 800 other security force personnel deployed in the area to counter unrest.

Brig Kellerman said there were "extremely worrying" indications that residents were poised to become involved in the struggle. This was partly as a result of growing discontent at the disruption caused to the community, particularly in the vicinity of the taxi ranks, and recruiting of supporters by members of the organisations. "If the residents are mobilised, we could have fighting on the same scale as the KTC clashes," he said referring to the bloody fighting in 1986 in which dozens died, hundreds were injured and scores of dwellings were burnt down.

He supported a statement from the officer commanding Western Province Command, Brig Dan Lamprecht, which said the large-scale deployment of troops in the area could at best be a short-term solution. Brig Kellerman said "the solution to the taxi conflict rests solely with the relevant taxi organisations". He noted that fighting appeared to have intensified since the attempted unification of the two organisations, rather than decreased. This was perhaps because each organisation saw itself, or professed to be, the party which had suffered the greatest injury and refused to compromise.

Efforts were still being made to get the two groups to continue talks on ways of ending the violence. Representatives of Lagunya and Webta appeared anxious to stop the fighting, but it appeared the decisions and agreements reached in negotiations were not filtering through to the "men on the ground". There seemed to be elements in both groups that were opposed to the resolution of the conflict and were obstructing the dissemination of information.

Brig Lamprecht urged the taxi organisations to come to an understanding, to "show self-restraint and self-discipline and to control their operations in a way which would be to their mutual benefit". He suggested they jointly set up a local mechanism which could enforce greater discipline among taxi operations.

If the organisations failed to achieve the necessary co-operation, "cheaper and more cost-effective measures" than large-scale troop deployment would have to be considered.

## Mozambique

### \* Activities of 'Naparama' Forces Described

92AF0102A Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese  
24 Aug 91 pp 20-23

[Article by Nicole Guardiola]

[Text] Nicoadala—The pledge of allegiance to the flag is in progress in Nicoadala, in the southern part of the province of Zambezia. Scores of young men are watching the movements and instructions of "Commander Aguenta" attentively. The majority are adolescents, but there are also some boys only 10 or 12 years old. They are dressed in their best clothing, bright-colored shorts and shirts, but almost all are barefoot, except for three "older boys" wearing the boots and camouflage outfits of the Mozambican Security Forces.

Their weapons are primitive—spears and javelins—but the red bands around them give them a magic, deadly power. When the ritual, which is both military and religious, is completed, these young peasants will go into service to swell the ranks of the "Naparamas."

They believe that the "vaccine" received from the hands of Manuel Antonio will protect them against the bullets of the "armed bandits." The Naparamas are invulnerable, provided that they respect certain taboos, and this belief is transforming peaceful peasants into fearless warriors. And the "enemy" also believes in the supernatural powers of the Naparamas. Their enemies flee or are struck dumb with terror on hearing the war cries of the Naparamas, who join together in great bands and attack in the fashion of the Zulus.

In another era and in other circumstances, Manuel Antonio would be one of those jungle "witch doctors" who treat all the ailments of the body and soul with herbs and the other ingredients in the traditional African pharmacopoeia. But in the Mozambique of 1991, the cause of all evils is the war. And Manuel Antonio, who is 28, has gained international fame as the leader and guide of the Naparamas. The French daily newspaper LE MONDE devoted a long article to his "barefoot army." CNN and Channel 4 have sent television teams to film the initiation ceremony for the "bulletproof men" and to interview their commander.

Manuel Antonio says that he is a Catholic, but his doctrine and his mystique are a blend of elements of Christian, Moslem, and animist inspiration. This is a common phenomenon in the heart of Mozambique. According to the tales which circulate about him, with their numerous variations, Manuel Antonio died when he was nine years of age. He was buried, rose again seven days later, and then wandered for six months in the mountains, alone except for wild animals and spirits. But it was God who assigned him the mission of "saving the people" and helped him to develop the vaccine which overcomes fear and provides

immunity against the weapons of the "armed bandits." The vaccine is prepared in his "laboratory" from a mixture of herbs and ashes.

Rational minds rebel against superstitions and absurd beliefs, but the local officials of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] retort that "facts are facts and they do not allow discussion, even if they seem inexplicable." They insist on the truth of the reports carried in the international press to the effect that the Naparamas "cleared out" two Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] bases in Zambezia which had resisted attacks by the government and Tanzanian troops—the bases in Moaqui-hala, north of Mocuba, and Namampavira, on the road leading to Malawi. They confirm that it was the Naparamas who "liberated" Murrua, making possible the return of the district commissioner, who had sought asylum in Gile. He found more than 50,000 individuals gathered together under the protection of the "bulletproof men" waiting for him and begging for food, tools, and implements so they could return to their hamlets and begin working their fields again.

Foreigners living in Zambezia and the officials of the nongovernmental organizations (ONG) participating in the programs to provide aid to the people are reluctant to voice any opinion about the activities of the Naparamas, but they admit that extensive zones in the province are relatively secure, and that thousands of peasants have left the "displaced persons" camps to return to the hamlets which were abandoned between 1986 and 1989. The movement seems to extend beyond the frontier, and hundreds of refugees are also beginning to return from Malawi.

Despite the terror they inspire, the Naparamas are bound to suffer casualties and to doubt the efficacy of the "vaccine" when they see their comrades killed or wounded. But Manuel Antonio and his assistants have answers for everything.

First of all, the vaccine is only effective if properly applied. The individual who receives it must be pure. If he commits some sin after being vaccinated, if his faith wavers, if he is afraid, if he flees or plans to do so, he will die, even if he is hiding behind a tree or in a hole in the ground.

The "sins" of family members also weigh upon the shoulders of the Naparamas, and when the warriors set forth to do battle, their women—mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters—must respect certain taboos. They may not wash or sweep, nor may they have sexual relations.

When the Naparamas began to gain fame and popularity, the Marxists in the Frelimo denounced the "witchcraft and other obscurantist practices" of this illiterate shaman who was exploiting the credulity of the people, and government Army officers proposed the elimination of this new breed of "armed bandits." But experience, and probably pressure "from the base level," forced a change of view.

The Naparamas are regarded today as valuable allies in the struggle against the Renamo—a kind of reserve army or territorial force, but one accepted by the peasant communities. They are self-sufficient, they cost nothing, and Manuel Antonio has authorized some minimal military training and some notions of guerrilla tactics for them. They continue to be forbidden to use firearms, but they may be accompanied by armed soldiers.

Last April, President Chissano spoke publicly about the actions of the Naparamas for the first time, and he praised the people who have organized their own self-defense, despite their lack of resources and isolation.

Since then, the press and Mozambique state television have been reporting the actions and the triumphs of the Naparamas regularly, taking statements from captured Renamo guerrilla fighters confirming the magic powers of the "bulletproof men."

The Catholic Church accuses the Frelimo and the government of exploiting popular gullibility and making use of a "backward mentality" which is being skillfully manipulated by Vitorino Waiola (Manuel Antonio's "alter ego," and a former Frelimo fighter) and by "Commander Aguenta," the military head of the movement.

Priests and nuns are exhorting the Christian communities not to believe in superstitions and not to pay 500 meticals to be "vaccinated," and above all, not to surrender their young men and boys to the Naparamas to be used as cannon fodder, or to be transformed, step by step, into assassins. For, sources linked with the Church or the Mozambican opposition say, the Naparamas are also "armed bandits" who are terrorizing the people, stealing, killing, and committing the worst atrocities with total impunity. And their primitivism and fanaticism can only contribute to making the interminable Mozambican civil war more cruel and bloody.

Manuel Antonio complains of persecution by the Catholic Church, and his followers go further, accusing the bishop of Beira and his clergy of supporting the Renamo. They claim to have found documents at a captured rebel base which prove that some priests were informing the Renamo of the movements and the actions planned by the Naparamas. They also say that it was these Renamo "spies" who spread the rumor that the "witch doctors" allied with Afonso Dlakhamba had discovered an antidote which rendered the poisoned weapons of the Naparamas harmless, as well as an "antiaircraft" vaccine which was even more powerful than Manuel Antonio's vaccine, because it could protect against the bombs dropped by the MIGs and the helicopters of the Mozambican Air Force.

The epic of the Zambezian Naparamas has taken on domestic and international importance, but a Western military attache in Maputo says that this is neither an isolated case nor a local phenomenon. "There are other Naparamas and other Manuel Antonios with different names but identical practices in many other regions of Mozambique. Apparently their activities work to the advantage of the Frelimo, which is seeking to reestablish a kind of dialogue

with the people. But this is a two-edged sword, and the magic may very well turn against the magician, because it is difficult to control these movements."

A Mozambican writer and historian who is a convinced Marxist minimizes the situation and rejects the idea that there has been deliberate manipulation. In his view, the hunger, the suffering, and the destructive and savage nature of the war being waged by the Renamo explain the fact that the people, in their despair, are seeking refuge in religion, like "the incurable invalid who turns to witch doctors, or begs the Lady of Fatima for a miracle."

There is, in fact, a clear increase in religious practices in Mozambique, which cannot be explained by the official recognition and the establishment of freedom of belief and religion. Older couples are suddenly deciding to marry in the Church and to baptize their children. Masses and Protestant services are more heavily attended than ever, and in August, the first Islamic University was established in Maputo. There are currently about 6,000 independent churches or syncretist sects, with their own hierarchies and liturgies, in the country.

"There is an extraordinary religious upsurge," comments Brother David, a Spaniard in the Congregation of the Servants of Mary, "but I do not know if we can measure up to what they expect of us. The Catholic Church became stronger when it was being persecuted, because it identified with the people, their difficulties, and the resistance. Now that the government recognizes its authority and has returned its property and other goods to the Church, it is in danger of becoming involved in the power games and losing the reserve of confidence it had accumulated."

In the Christian communities, there is also a resurgence of traditional practices, the ancestor cult, and earth spirits. "People feel threatened and in danger from every side and at all times. They need something to help them to overcome their fear. For this reason, they celebrate the mass with stamping and clapping. I want them to sing in their native languages, but this is hard to achieve, because they were taught to sing in Portuguese, and also because the displaced persons come from different regions and ethnic groups."

Father Antonio has been in Mozambique for seven years, and he thinks that basically, the old beliefs were never completely abandoned. They have survived in the unconscious or are associated with memories of infancy, of the grandparents, of the native villages.

A young Mozambican journalist agrees. "All of those serving in the present government, before they were ever members of the Frelimo, were children who heard their elders' tales about their forefathers, about the good and evil spirits. The party has renounced Marxism and scientific materialism, and the old beliefs are coming to

life again. In Eastern Europe, religion, nationalist movements, and ethnic antagonisms are emerging anew. Why wouldn't the same thing happen in Mozambique, after 15 years of a communist regime?"

O DIARIO DE MOZAMBIQUE, which is published in Beira, devoted considerable space in August to a news item which illustrates the disorientation which prevails in the government and state apparatus. Two video tapes and 33 cassettes disappeared from the Regional Cultural Center. Persuaded that the theft had been perpetrated by an employee, the director called everyone together in order to attempt to identify the responsible party. Faced with failure, he announced that he and a committee would consult a famous soothsayer living in a neighboring town. Some employees protested against this recourse to "obscurantist" practices and suggested that the Criminal Investigation Police (PIC) be brought in. They were forthwith singled out as suspects in the theft. O DIARIO DE MOZAMBIQUE reported the story. Another general meeting was called to establish who had leaked the news to the press. The soothsayer complained of the publicity given the case, but did not identify the thieves. The newspaper reported that the workers who opposed this consultation were suspended. The response of the regional director of culture was a memorandum denying that the sanctions had anything to do with the consultation of the soothsayer.

It seems like a commonplace tale of the sort the old European settlers told about every part of Africa. But the return of the witch doctors has also brought back the ancestral fears and hatreds. And the images of the events in Liberia, Somalia, and Ethiopia are so fresh that fear is inevitable when the civil war in Mozambique begins to be painted in the colors of tribalism.

At the beginning of the year, there were discussions riddled with racism during the debate on the new nationality law, which some sought to reserve for "native-born Africans," excluding the "nonblack," white, and Asian categories. These exchanges led to interesting assertions about who the first occupants of the continent were, and who came later to the land which is now Mozambique—the Portuguese and Indians, or the Zulu and Vatuva peoples. There is long-standing hostility toward the Muslims, which may perhaps have been exacerbated by the recent and evident prosperity of the merchants of Asiatic origin.

Denunciations of the hegemony of the men in the South over the leadership of the Frelimo, the government, and the state apparatus are a commonplace in Maputo, both in opposition circles and within the government party. At the recent Sixth Congress of the Frelimo, it was decided that these criticisms should be taken seriously and that "men from the Center and the North" should be promoted.

The planned coup d'état which was denounced in July was almost discounted, because all of the alleged conspirators were "people from the South" and from the same clan, so that this was little more a family dispute.

"When there is talk about agitation or discontent among the people of the North, it gets attention. Cabo Delgado is very important to the Frelimo. This was the location of the first 'liberated zone,' and it was from there that the armed struggle was launched, but the authority of the government is being questioned. The people of the Makonde tribe complain of being passed over in favor of the South in the distribution of international aid," a European diplomat confides.

A pessimistic observer who does not expect the negotiations in Rome to be successful says that "even if the Frelimo and the Renamo sign a cease-fire agreement, the war will continue. The Xangane and Ndau peoples account for barely 10 percent of the population, and the other peoples—the Macua, who constitute the largest ethnic group, the Makonde, etc.—will not be willing to share power with them."

A Mozambican colleague explains that the leaders of the Renamo are Ndau, while Chissano and the majority of the Frelimo leaders are Xanganes, as is Samora Machel. He adds that it is these ethnic origins which explain the limited resistance offered to the Renamo by the people in the southern part of Mozambique. This is because of an ancient curse which dates back to the era of Gungunhana and the rebellion of the last king of Gaza against the Portuguese. The Ndau, a dominated people, were forced to supply warriors for Gungunhana's armies. He was defeated, captured by Mouzinho, and died in exile in the Azores.

Legend says that the 3,000 Ndau warriors who perished in this venture swore to return and wreak their vengeance on the descendants of Gungunhana. For years, a soothsayer was consulted whenever anyone fell ill, and he very frequently determined that the evil was caused by the spirit of a Ndau seeking to return to the land of his forefathers. The people then offered him money and food for the voyage, and if the offering was accepted, the sick person was cured. Samora Machel made Gungunhana a national hero. He demanded that Portugal return his remains to Mozambique for burial, and some biographers even say that Samora Machel was a descendant of Gungunhana. When the Renamo began to attack the villages, the elders said that this was the vengeance of the Ndau people, a matter between the Ndau and the Xanganes in which it was dangerous for anyone to interfere.

The indiscriminate massacres, the hunger, the drought, and all of the catastrophes which have plagued Mozambique in recent years, as well as the apparent inability of the Mozambique Armed Forces, with a theoretical strength of 120,000 men, must inevitably contribute to strengthening the belief of the rural people that they were expiating some sin, like the subjects of Pharaoh, who refused to free the Hebrew people.

The Renamo seems bent upon earning this demoniac notoriety, with its apparently gratuitous acts of violence,

massacres, and mutilations. Even allowing that government propaganda may exaggerate, there are documents and reports from independent sources confirming that hideous crimes have been committed. The fact that many of the atrocities attributed to the Renamo may have been committed by other "armed bandits," deserters, or starving government Army soldiers does not substantially alter the situation of terror in which the people live.

Insecurity begins at the gates of Maputo. The Matola priest, whom I accompanied on a visit to nearby settlements, does not sympathize with the regime nor with the Renamo. He condemns the war and all of those who are directly or indirectly allowing it to continue. "This bakery was attacked four times in recent months. The last time, they put the employees in the oven and burned them alive." A few kilometers farther on he said: "In this house, several score young people were celebrating a birthday. Late in the afternoon, sharpshooters hiding in this tree opened fire and killed 18 people. Some of them were children."

The response to terrorism tends to be even greater terrorism, and the Naparamas may represent a new level in the spiraling violence, fear, and irrational hatred. It would be sad if Samora Machel's dream of a multiracial society free of tribalism were to end in a bloodbath. The "emerging" parties, which are beginning to organize under the new laws, cannot fully conceal the ethnic or tribal references of the majority of their leaders. One proclaims itself to be "Africanist" and the defender of traditional values and customs. Another includes the reestablishment of the powers of the kinglets and other traditional authorities in its program. Yet another suggests replacing the centralist regime with a federalist one. Is this nostalgia for the precolonial past? Does it mean acceptance of the dismembering and annexation of the various parts of the country by its neighbors?

The overwhelming majority of the people are not interested in such speculation. They want the war to end, they want to eat, to live, and they are prepared to support whoever can guarantee them a minimum of security. Talk of democracy or postponement of the cease-fire in order to retain or win power represents an affront to the poverty and the hunger being suffered by the children of Mozambique.

**Burkina Faso****Compaore Signs Decree Opening Election Campaign***AB0711163991 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1300 GMT 7 Nov 91*

[Text] The president of the Republic of Burkina Faso and head of government has signed a decree opening the campaign for the 1 December presidential elections. Nathalie Kone has the details.

[Kone] Article 1: The campaign for the 1 December presidential elections shall open on 10 November at midnight and shall end on 30 November at midnight.

Article 2: The organization of coverage by the state media and the modalities for an equitable access thereto by candidates shall be the object of an ordinance jointly issued by the chairman of the National Elections Commission, the minister of information, and the minister of justice.

Article 3: The chairman of the National Elections Commission, the minister of information and culture, and the minister of justice shall, each according to their duties, be responsible for the enforcement of this decree, which shall be published in the official gazette of the Republic of Burkina Faso.

Enacted at Ouagadougou on 6 November.

Signed: Captain Blaise Compaore

**Begins Presidential Campaign***AB1111165091 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 10 Nov 91*

[Excerpts] The presidential campaign for the 1 December elections began at 0000 today. The campaign, whose organization and modalities for access to the state media will be the subject of a joint decree from the chairman of the National Commission on the Organization of Elections and the Ministries of Information and Justice, will end on 30 November at 0000.

Blaise Compaore, the only registered candidate, chose Kaya for the official start of his campaign. The chief town of the Sanmatenga Province prepared for the honor by mobilizing a large number of militants devoted to the candidate's cause. [passage omitted]

After he outlined his seven-year program, candidate Blaise Compaore invited all Burkinabe to come out and vote in large number on 1 December to show the international community that democracy was alive and well in Burkina Faso.

Here is what he said:

[Begin Compaore recording] I am convinced that our mutual efforts will lead us to victory and progress. On behalf of your faith in the bright future of the country, we

call on you to take part in large numbers in the 1 December elections to show the world that your vote for democracy, freedom, and progress is irreversible. In doing so, each one of us must intensify the mobilization efforts in his community, make sure that all those who support us have their voting cards, and that they understand the voting procedures. This is the price of our collective and decisive victory. In the meantime, we want to reassure the people that in conformity with our constitutional powers, we will rigorously ensure the security of people and property throughout the country. [end recording] [passage omitted]

**Cautions Opposition***AB1811104591 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 0700 GMT 17 Nov 91*

[Text] Blaise Compaore continued his election campaign with a rally at Manga yesterday afternoon. The chief town of Boulmiougou kept faith with tradition by giving an enthusiastic reception to the presidential candidate. Blaise Compaore challenged the opposition to propose programs to the people instead of looking for shortcuts to the seat of power. His remarks were recorded at Manga by Basile Gaudet.

[Begin Compaore recording] They [the opposition] speak of a sovereign national conference. We say and continue to maintain that we in Burkina Faso believe in the peaceful confrontation of platforms and coherent policies because our people are currently seeking convincing platforms that will guide them in their choice of the leaders who will govern them and ensure their happiness and dignity.

We wish to tell them precisely that they have every right to talk. They have every right to talk as much as they want, but they have no right to destroy what we have built. If ever, as reports reaching us indicate—we understand they are planning to destroy ballot boxes and burn down polling booths on 1 December—if ever that day arrives, if ever they give us such an opportunity, if they give the Burkinabe people such an opportunity, we believe that on that day the people will wage a decisive battle to eradicate the forces of destruction and backwardness from the face of this earth once and for all. [end recording]

**Committee Calls for Boycott of All Elections***AB1411065491 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[Text] This afternoon the Coordinating Committee of the Democratic Forces, CFD, gave a news conference on the national political situation and in particular on the upcoming elections.

Reaffirming its stand on these upcoming elections, CFD called for them to be boycotted.

### **Togolese Leader Koffigoh Ends Visit, Comments**

*AB0911122091 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 8 Nov 91*

[Excerpt] Relations between Togo and Burkina Faso are quite good. The Togolese prime minister and the head of state have expressed delight over the excellent relations that unite both countries and have pledged to work toward strengthening these relations. To this end, they agreed to reactivate the permanent Togo-Burkina joint commission of cooperation.

The two statesmen also exchanged views on developments in the process of instituting the rule of law in Togo and Burkina Faso. On subregional issues, they once again condemned apartheid in South Africa and emphasized the need to maintain economic sanctions until apartheid is completely eradicated.

On the international scene, Joseph Koffigoh and Blaise Compaore mentioned the situation in the Middle East in light of the recent peace talks in Madrid, and they expressed their wish that these negotiations would conclude with peace finally being instituted in the region.

Joseph Kokou Koffigoh and Blaise Compaore briefly answered questions from journalists before the former departed. Mr. Koffigoh gave his impressions of the democratic process in Burkina Faso:

[Begin Koffigoh recording] What I wish for my Burkinabe brothers is that they act so that they will finally move to democracy without any loss of life. That is all that I can wish for them. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### **Final Communique Issued**

*AB0911151591 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche Network in French 0600 GMT 9 Nov 91*

["Final communique" issued in Ouagadougou on 8 November after Togolese Prime Minister Joseph Koffigoh's 8 November visit to Burkina Faso—read by unidentified minister]

[Text] His Excellency Joseph Koffigoh, prime minister and minister of defense of the Republic of Togo, paid a friendly visit to Burkina Faso on 8 November. During that visit, Blaise Compaore, president of Burkina Faso and head of government, and Prime Minister Koffigoh held cordial talks on bilateral cooperation and on African and international issues.

On issues of mutual interest, they expressed satisfaction with the excellent relations of friendship and cooperation existing between our two countries. They promised to further strengthen these relations. In this connection, they agreed on the need to revive the Togo-Burkina joint commission for cooperation. President Compaore and Prime Minister Koffigoh exchanged views on progress in efforts to establish the rule of law in their respective countries.

On subregional matters, the two statesmen deplored the resumption of fighting in Liberia and appealed for compliance with the Yamoussoukro accords. On African matters, they once again condemned the persistent obnoxious apartheid system in South Africa and emphasized the need to maintain economic sanctions until the system is totally eradicated.

On the international situation, President Compaore and Prime Minister Koffigoh in particular examined the Middle East question against the background of the recent peace talks in Madrid, and they expressed the hope that these negotiations will bring about lasting peace in the region.

At the end of his friendly visit, Prime Minister Koffigoh expressed his heartfelt thanks to President Compaore and to the Burkinabe Government and people for the warm and brotherly reception given him and his delegation. [applause]

### **Trade Unions Demand End to Structural Adjustment**

*AB1911135291 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 0615 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] The three-day national conference of the Burkinabe trade unions ended in Ouagadougou. More than 200 delegates worked on the conference theme: In the new era of a law-abiding state, what perspectives are there for Burkinabe workers?

Reviewing the national and international situation, the trade unions called for an immediate end to the national Structural Adjustment Program [SAP].

Harouna Barry has more details:

[Begin Barry recording] This conference, the first of its kind in Burkinabe trade unionism, ended this morning with two communiques and condemnation motions. After a review of the international situation marked by a general crisis and people's aspirations for more food and democracy, the unions denounced the inadequacy of the SAP in African states. The final communique added that the known consequences of the SAP upon the national situation are marked by retrenchment and the deterioration of workers' standard of living. The people pay for others to live a bourgeois way of life.

Facing such a situation, the unions wondered how long this would last. In the meantime, they made several demands to be met before 17 December. Failure to satisfy these demands would see the workers embark on a warning strike on 7 and 8 January 1992.

These demands include among other things the end of uncontrolled restructuring, the reinstatement of allowances and year-end bonuses, balance sheet examinations of the various funds with worker participation, the immediate lifting of measures on step increases and promotion without financial benefits, and finally, the suppression of the SAP.

The final communique was followed by various motions in which the unionists demanded the immediate suppression of the 1 November ordinance, which suspends political demonstrations and rallies. They reaffirmed their determination to fight for the establishment of a law-abiding and democratic state. The unions also called on the current political leadership to hold necessary consultations to prevent Burkina Faso from experiencing the horrors of a civil war. They called on all workers to be mobilized and, without fear, to defend their material and moral interests. [end recording]

## Ghana

### Rawlings Establishes Interim Electoral Commission

AB131114091 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation  
Radio Network in English 2000 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] The chairman of the PNDC [Provisional Defense Council Committee], Flight Lieutenant Rawlings, has signed a law establishing the Interim National Electoral Commission which shall take over those electoral functions previously performed by the National Commission for Democracy [NCD]. The commission shall be headed by an executive chairman assisted by two deputies responsible for finance and operations and not more than eight other members. The membership of the commission shall include at least one woman.

According to the law, the Interim National Electoral Commission shall be responsible for the demarcation of electoral areas, both district and national, and the conduct and supervision of all public elections and referenda. The commission shall not be subject of a direction or control of any person or authority in the performance of its functions and may make regulations for the registration of voters, the conduct of elections, and related matters.

Meanwhile, the NCD law has been amended to remove those electoral functions now transferred to the Interim National Electoral Commission. The functions of the NCD are now limited to programs to disseminate wide understanding of democratic processes within the society and to inculcate greater awareness of civic responsibilities, rights, and obligations.

### Some Banks Reopen After Forced Closures

AB3010213091 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation  
Radio Network in English 1300 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Government offices at Tepa in Ashanti have reopened after a three-week closure caused by demonstrators. The resumption of work follows a visit to the town by the acting Ashanti regional secretary, Mr. J.Y. Ansah, and some members of the Regional Security Committee to assess the situation.

Addressing the district, Mr. Ansah urged government officials who fled the town to their offices to assist in the

implementation of government policies in the area. He gave the assurance that all government employees in the district will be given adequate protection to carry out their duties. The regional secretary warned that anyone who will interfere in their work will not be spared.

He recounted the circumstances that led to the confusion between the district administration and the leadership of the Tepa Traditional Council and the Tepa Youth Association last August, and the reconciliation measures that have been taken to restore peace and order. Mr. Ansah regretted that despite these moves to ensure peace and the setting up of a committee to go into the allegations of the demonstrators, they again took to the streets, intimidating workers and disrupting the administration of the district.

He stressed that Tepa will continue to be the district capital, adding that it is those who engage in lawlessness who will be moved out of the town. According to the regional secretary, the appointment or dismissal of district secretaries is the prerogative of the government and no individual or group of people is vested with that power. He therefore called on the assembly members to rally behind the district secretary to ensure accelerated economic and social development in the area.

Mr. Ansah announced that the police have been instructed to ensure that all persons who have so far broken the law are prosecuted. He also called on the committee investigating allegations against the district secretary to continue with its work. Mr. Ansah hoped that now that the government has set into motion a machinery to return the country to constitutional rule that all Ghanaians would adopt a cool posture and help it achieve its objective in a peaceful atmosphere.

The presiding member, Mr. Kofi Boateng, assured the regional secretary of the assembly's cooperation to ensure that the action of a few people do not disturb the orderly development of the district.

Some banks opened for business today following the total stoppage by some banks yesterday as part of an industrial action. Our correspondents, who went 'round this morning, found branches of Barclays Bank, Standard Chartered Bank, and Social Security Bank working.

At the main office of the Social Security Bank [SSB] in Accra, however, the staff were only receiving deposits but no withdrawals were handled. At the SSB Annex, near the Sadisco Hotel, deposits and withdrawals were handled until 1100 when they stopped, reportedly after being instigated by officials of the Association of Financial Institutions.

Reports from other regions also indicate that some of the banks opened for business while others did not.

It is recalled that the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning in a statement yesterday stated that there will be no negotiations or discussions with any financial institution where staff are engaged in industrial action

unless normal work resumes. The ministry also announced that the Tripartite Committee will meet tomorrow to discuss a number of issues including the role of the Prices and Incomes Board.

Meanwhile, managements of the National Savings and Credit Bank and the Ghana Cooperative Bank have asked their staff to return to work.

#### **Accra Details Members of PNDC Mission To Libya**

AB1711164091 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation  
Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] A government delegation led by a member of the Provisional National Defense Council, Captain Kojo Tsikata, left Accra this morning for Tripoli to attend a Ghana-Libya joint commission meeting. The meeting will discuss among other things economic, technical, and cultural cooperation between the two countries.

Other members of the delegation include the deputy secretary for foreign affairs, Dr. Mohamed ibn Chambas, and officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Trade, and Ghana National Trading Corporation. The rest are representatives of private groups transacting business with their counterparts in Libya.

The delegation will be away for three days.

#### **Ivory Coast**

#### **Cabinet Reshuffled; New Ministries Created**

AB1411214791 Abidjan Radiodiffusion Ivoirienne  
Radio in French 1900 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Following a cabinet meeting this morning in Abidjan under the chairmanship of the head of state, a technical reshuffle was out. The highlights of this action are the creation of a ministry of industry and commerce, which is to be headed by Ferdinand Angoran Kacou, former general manager of UNIWAX textile company; the creation of a ministry of security, which is to be headed by Lassana Palenfo, former director of the Office of Administrative Buildings; and the restructuring of the ministries in charge of education, with the creation of a ministry of national education and a ministry of higher education and research. Thus, the cabinet membership has risen from 20 to 22. [passage omitted]

#### **Commentary Views Cabinet Reshuffle**

AB1811223091 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN  
in French 18 Nov 91 p 9

[Eugenie Douayere commentary: Alhassane Ouattara Reshuffles—Edition One....]

[Text] Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara's cabinet, formed a year or so ago, underwent its very first technical reshuffle on 14 November: two ministries, those of security and of industry and commerce, were created,

thereby bringing to 22 the number of government members, including the prime minister.

The men heading the two ministries are known personalities: For the ministry of security we have Quartermaster Colonel Lassana Ykire Palenfo Lassana, a building administrative officer. He is a soldier with excellent management skills who proved his honesty and integrity by handling challenging tasks like running the Quartermaster General's Department, the Financial Affairs and Programs Department of the Ministry of Defense, and liquidating SOGEFIHA [Company for the Financial Management of Housing] and the Civil Buildings Department. The Security Department had, until the reshuffle, been under the Ministry of Interior.

As for the Industry and Commerce portfolio, it was assigned to Mr. Ferdinand Angoran Kacou, general manager of UNIWAX, [expansion unknown]. His appointment marks the entry into the government of yet another technocrat. Mr. Kacou held the posts of head of consultancy services at the Ministry of Planning (1971) and that of central director of the Pricing and Fraud Repression Division (Ministry of Commerce) before making a career in the private sector.

Industry was originally a component of the ministry headed by Mr. Yed Essaié Angoran, who now retains only mines and energy. Commerce, on the other hand, had been placed under the Ministry Delegate in Charge of Economy, Finance, and Planning.

According to Mr. Albert Aggrey, secretary to the government, combining industry and commerce—two key sectors in the economic recovery program—under a single autonomous ministry reflects the prime minister's real determination to revitalize the productive sector and reconquer lost international markets.

"The creation of a Ministry of Industry and Commerce responds, therefore, to the need to implement a new industrial and commercial policy aimed at sustaining the economic recovery program," Mr. Albert Aggrey added.

From the outset, Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara's government identified security as one of its priorities. Was that really surprising? Insecurity, crime, and delinquency are three evils which have reached the most alarming proportions in our country. The reasons for this are known.

The most urgent matters need to be attended to first. Apart from Operation Peace and Security, launched by the president himself, there have been other measures, particularly the establishment of structures equipped with additional human and material resources for strengthening this security. But in spite of this vast anti-crime drive, the problem remains a matter of concern. The government is conscious of this, and by creating this department, is determined to curtail the rising insecurity, crime wave, and delinquency.

Today more than ever before there is a need to act and move quickly by rethinking a better organization of action—hence, the need to entrust the coordination of such action to a special department equipped with the appropriate means.

Ivorians in general are waiting to see.... and the new minister of security is aware of this. He has enough on his plate. A vast program prepared painstakingly by his predecessor, Colonel Emile Constant Bombet (who now holds the interior portfolio) is awaiting him.

All in all, this is a slight technical reshuffle guided by considerations of efficiency, consistency, and cohesion in the policy which Mr. Alassane Ouattara has always stood for.

## Liberia

### ECOMOG Commander Prepares To Disarm Combatants

*AB1411065891 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[Text] As the date for the commencement of the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] agenda for the encampment and disarmament of all warring factions draws near, the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] field commander, Major General Ishaya Bakut, is continuing to make last-minute efforts, meeting with all parties concerned to ensure smooth implementation of the agreement. In pursuance of the pact, Maj. Gen. Bakut on Sunday undertook a two-day visit to Sierra Leone where he had discussions with Sierra Leonean President Joseph Momoh and Sierra Leonean Forces Commander Major General Tarawale as well as the commanders of the ULIMO forces.

During the meeting, President Joseph Momoh is reported to have given his support for the Liberian peace process and the current efforts to implement the encampment and disarmament of all the warring factions. A release from the ECOMOG headquarters said the ULIMO field commander, Arma 'Ovlo, assured the ECOMOG field commander of their preparedness [words indistinct] to cooperate fully with ECOMOG forces to be deployed to the Liberian-Sierra Leonean border to the buffer zone and maintain security in line with the agreement endorsed by ECOWAS leaders in Yamoussoukro, La Cote d'Ivoire [Ivory Coast]. He further assured Maj. Gen. Bakut that ULIMO would facilitate the Liberian peace process and will not do anything to contravene the current spirit of peace and moves to bring an end to the Liberian conflict.

Gen. Bakut has in the past week met with INPFL [Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia] leader, Prince Johnson, and the chief of staff of the AFL [Armed Forces of Liberia], Lieutenant General Hezekiah Bowen.

### Further on Preparations

*AB1911095091 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] The ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] field commander, Major General Ishaya Bakut, is urging Liberians to assist the force in ridding the country of all arms and ammunitions by reporting hidden arms to ECOMOG. He said Liberians must search and peep in all dark corners to locate hidden arms and ammunitions as ECOMOG moves to disarm and encamp all former combatants.

Gen. Bakut made the call on Friday [15 November] at the ECOMOG headquarters during a news conference marking the beginning of the process to disarm and encamp all former combatants to the Liberian conflict. He said the creation of a buffer zone along the Sierra Leonean-Liberian border was the first step by ECOMOG to maintain security in areas under the national Patriotic Front and said once the buffer zone is established ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia] will not fire one gun in Liberia.

The ECOMOG field commander said the deployment of ECOMOG forces nationwide was not conditional and that troops of all the countries participating in ECOMOG, including those from Guinea and Sierra Leone, will be deployed throughout the country.

### ULIMO Says ECOMOG Report 'False'

*AB1411130591 Paris AFP in French 1951 GMT  
13 Nov 91*

[Text] Freetown, 13 Nov (AFP)—The United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy [ULIMO] today rejected as "false and erroneous" the announcement that the movement has endorsed a peace plan providing for the disarming and encampment of rival Liberian armed factions. Paul Allen Wie, secretary general of ULIMO—a movement essentially composed of soldiers loyal to former President Samuel Doe—told AFP that the communique issued yesterday by the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group [ECOMOG] did not reflect the actual contents of the talks between the ECOMOG commander and ULIMO officials.

Mr. Wie explained that during the meeting with the ECOMOG commander, General Ishaya Bakut, and Economic Community of West African States Secretary General Abass Bundu, ULIMO officials had specified that they were based inside Liberia and that they were not launching their attacks from Sierra Leone. ULIMO has stepped up its attacks against Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia along the country's border with Sierra Leone since September.

Mr. Wie explained that Sierra Leone does not provide assistance to ULIMO, adding, however, that the country was contributing to the peace process, and had provided humanitarian assistance to thousands of Liberian refugees.

### **ULIMO Agrees To Stop Fighting Near Sierra Leone**

*AB1911181091 Paris AFP in English 1800 GMT  
19 Nov 91*

[Text] Freetown, Nov 19 (AFP)—The United Liberation Movement for Democracy (ULIMO), a group of former Liberian Army soldiers, on Tuesday agreed unconditionally to stop fighting Liberia's main rebel group near the border with Sierra Leone to allow a regional peace process to move forward.

A ULIMO spokesman told AFP that his organization had "unconditionally decided to stop military action" in Liberia's western Grand Cape Mount county "as a demonstration of its commitment to the search for lasting peace."

The force, which has been fighting Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) on and off since early September, claims military control of the county. Most of its fighters are former soldiers from the army of late president Samuel Doe.

The spokesman said ULIMO's action was to give a Nigerian-led West African peacekeeping force "a chance in its drive to disarm and encamp the warring factions" in the wake of a bloody rebellion launched by Taylor in December 1989.

ULIMO would not pull out its troops from Grand Cape Mount County or surrounding areas, he added. "We are not an invasion force. We are also Liberians; we are prepared to cooperate as much as possible."

One diplomat here said Western governments had put pressure on ULIMO to end its "belligerent stand."

Last week ULIMO said it had no obligation to adhere to the Yamoussoukro agreement, as it had not signed the accord. But representatives of the organization later said it would only disarm after the NPFL surrendered its arms.

Under the accord signed last month in Yamoussoukro, Ivory Coast, the West African force, known as ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], is to assume full military control of Liberia within 60 days of last Friday pending elections.

### **Taylor Reiterates Commitment to Peace Accords**

*AB1911094591 Gbarga Radio ELBC in English  
2000 GMT 18 Nov 91*

[Text] The government of the NPRA [National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly] says it is committed to the Yamoussoukro Peace Accords, and nothing will be done by so-called [word indistinct] Liberian politicians to delay the current peace process. Speaking recently at the official opening programs of the 1991 Agricultural Trade Fair in Buchanan, President Taylor said the just-ended Yamoussoukro conference agreed for elections to be held in six months but he was surprised to hear from Dr.

Amos Sawyer through the Monrovia radio station that six months was insufficient for general elections.

An Information Ministry release quotes President Taylor as saying that the NPRA government has done everything possible to give peace a chance to prevail in Liberia but there are some self-centered politicians who want to see the country divided for personal gains, which Liberians are prepared to disallow.

### **Sawyer Reaction to Article on Elections Cited**

*AB0911212091 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 9 Nov 91*

[Text] Interim President Amos Sawyer says his government is still committed to the outcome of the Yamoussoukro conferences and that he does not foresee anything that will stop the peace process.

An Executive Mansion release said the president made the clarification on Friday [8 November] when he read in the EYE newspaper an article entitled **Six Months Too Short For Elections**.

The release said the headline was misleading and that it implied that the president was opposed to the holding of elections within six months.

The release noted that the president had actually said that it would be problematic to have valid elections within six months, with one third of our population out of the country, if we want to repatriate all of our citizens before elections.

### **ECOWAS, Ex-Nigerian Officials To Meet Sawyer**

*AB1511103091 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 14 Nov 91*

[Text] The Nigerian former head of state, General Yacubu Gowon, has arrived in Monrovia as guest of the Interim Government of National Unity. While in the country, Gen. Gowon will hold talks with Interim President Amos Sawyer and other top government officials.

The former Nigerian leader is being accompanied by Mr. Abass Bundu, the executive secretary of ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States].

No details about Gen. Gowon's visit in Monrovia have been disclosed.

### **INPFL Announces Return to Interim Government**

*AB0911212991 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 9 Nov 91*

[Text] The Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia, the INPFL, says it is rejoining the Liberian

Interim Government of National Unity. The front's decision was announced yesterday at a meeting with Interim President Amos Sawyer. According to the leader of the INPFL, Brigadier General Prince Johnson, his organization was returning to the interim government as a result of many appeals made to the front by its supporters both at home and abroad. Brig. Gen. Johnson said the INPFL was returning to the Interim Government in the interest of peace and love for the country but, however, noted that his organization was returning with certain reservations which, he noted, would be addressed at a meeting later between his organization and the Interim Government.

In response, Interim President Sawyer described the INPFL action as a milestone in Liberia's search for peace. We have a special responsibility to continue to work tirelessly for peace, the president said. He extended gratitude to Brig. Gen. Johnson and members of the INPFL for their decision to rejoin the interim government.

The Liberian chief executive recently renewed his call to the INPFL to join the Interim Government following the successful outcome of the Yamoussoukro IV summit. The Front in mid-July pulled out of the interim government claiming that the government had failed to unite the people of Liberia.

The yesterday meeting at which the INPFL announced its decision to rejoin the interim government was attended by the field commander of Economic Community of West African State Cease-Fire Monitoring Group, Major General Ishaya Bakut, and his deputy, Brigadier Von Egbemesi.

#### **INPFL's Johnson Seeks Defense Ministry Post**

*AB121111591 Paris AFP in French 0757 GMT  
12 Nov 91*

[Text] Monrovia, 12 Nov (AFP)—Four days after announcing his return to the interim government "in the name of peace," rebel leader Prince Johnson has said that one of the conditions to this return was to have the Defense Ministry portfolio. In a communique published yesterday in a Monrovia daily, the INDEPENDENT INQUIRER, the leader of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia [INPFL] also demanded several other ministerial portfolios for his movement including the posts of speaker and deputy speaker of the Interim Legislative Assembly.

The first of the posts was originally destined to Charles Taylor, leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, the main armed group in the country, who refused to participate in the interim government.

The second post was proposed to Mr. Johnson's movement before he left the interim government last August.

The INQUIRER added that the INPFL leader would also like his movement to control the National Ports Authority and the War Veterans Office which he formerly headed.

#### **Attorney Announces Presidential Candidacy**

*AB0711212791 Paris AFP in English 1614 GMT  
7 Nov 91*

[Text] Monrovia, Nov 7 (AFP)—Peter Amos George, Jr., son of a popular Baptist preacher is the first independent candidate to oppose National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) leader Charles Taylor in presidential elections slated for next year.

George, 43, told a press conference here Thursday [7 November] he wanted to become president to correct the "grave social injustices, corruption and other factors which contributed to the Liberian civil war."

An attorney who now owns a car rental service here, George said if elected president he would make sure qualified Liberians were placed in their rightful positions, charging that civil service was "manipulated" by past presidents which rendered many government employees ineffective. He would also uphold freedom of the press, speech, movement and association as well as other civil liberties.

Taylor announced his candidacy in the elections last month. He has toured much of Liberia to support his movement, which controls most of the country outside Monrovia.

#### **Nomination of Acting Finance Minister Rejected**

*AB0611124291 Paris AFP in English 1132 GMT  
6 Nov 91*

[Text] Monrovia, Nov 6 (AFP) - Liberia's interim parliament has rejected the nomination of acting finance minister Byron Tarr on charges of "improprieties" after he had served in the post for more than 10 months, official sources said.

Tarr, who just returned from a World Bank meeting in Thailand, received four votes against 15 with one abstention after the Ways, Means and Finance Committee presented its report to the full assembly here Tuesday [5 November].

The committee reported that there were "glaring improprieties" relating to Tarr's services, and alleged Tarr showed "disrespect" through "boisterous and arrogant" responses during confirmations hearing in August.

The committee also accused Tarr of allowing a hotel manager re-export some unidentified equipment without proper documentation.

### **Sawyer Backs Nominee**

*AB0711102591 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 7 Nov 91*

[Excerpt] The president of the Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia, Dr. Amos Sawyer, has reaffirmed his confidence in the integrity and ability of Dr. Byron Tarr, the presidential nominee for the post of minister of finance. Dr. Tarr was rejected early this week by the Interim Legislative Assembly [ILA].

Reacting yesterday to Dr. Tarr's rejection by the ILA, President Sawyer said he has the utmost respect for the professional expertise, performance, and [word indistinct] of Dr. Tarr as a top Liberian financial expert, courageous democrat, and a man of good character. According to an Executive Mansion release, President Sawyer said it was unfortunate that the ILA rejected Dr. Tarr and expressed the hope that the legislature will reconsider their decision. [passage omitted]

### **Former Interim Vice President Cited on Issues**

*AB2011095091 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 19 Nov 91*

[Text] The former vice president of the Interim Government, Dr. Peter Naigow, has been speaking on a number of issues of national concern, including the Liberian civil war, the peace process, and the role of the Liberian people in bringing the conflict to an end. The LIBERIAN NEWS AGENCY, LINA, says Dr. Naigow spoke about his recent resignation from the Interim Government last August, adding that his decision had in no way been influenced by the call of the Independent National Patriotic Front [of Liberia], INPFL, last August for all INPFL members to withdraw from the Interim Government.

Dr. Naigow said the decision to resign from the Interim Government was purely his, and that in keeping with that decision, he will not be entering the government again, even though the INPFL has decided to rejoin the Interim Government. He said he will, instead, remain in private life and play a role of a neutral person in the peace process. Dr. Naigow said as a neutral person, he will engage in peace dialogue with all the warring factions and other parties to the Liberian conflict, as a means of forging genuine reconciliation and finding lasting solution to the nearly two years of civil conflict.

He also spoke about the positive role the Liberian press must play as watchdog of the society in helping to heal the wounds of the nation once and for all. He said the press must be fearless in championing the cause of the people at all times, regardless of the situation at hand.

Dr. Naigow, who served twice as director general of the Liberian Broadcasting System told journalists that seeking political office was not his major concern now, but rather directing all his efforts towards the attainment of genuine peace as well as the reunification of the Liberian people.

### **Mali**

#### **Toumani Toure on Conference, Situation in North**

*AB1011175591 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television  
du Mali Radio in French 2000 GMT 9 Nov 91*

[Address to the nation by President Toumani Toure in Bamako on 9 November—live or recorded]

[Text] Fellow compatriots: We are continuing our efforts to promote democracy and development, but there are persistent difficulties which we are facing with courage and determination. Every Malian views the problem with the north with great concern and sees it a menace. It is a danger to our national unity and a threat to the democratic process for which our people have made so many sacrifices. Therefore, a drastic and fair solution must be found quickly to solve the problem. But what solution?

The military option will be costly and is, therefore, not advisable. It can only be used as a last resort, when there is no other avenue for safeguarding national unity. That is why Mali has chosen a different solution—one of dialogue and national consultations as symbolized by the Timbuktu special conference. Originally scheduled to begin on 15 November, the conference has become the hope of an entire nation and absolutely must succeed. It is clear now that a new deadline is required because the national preparatory committee has informed us that the preparations are running behind schedule.

Our foreign friends, whom we have asked to assist us in our peace efforts, have also confirmed that the meeting needs to be postponed so that the officials in charge of the rebel movements can make the necessary arrangements for their adequate representation so that they can make a credible commitment. Our brotherly, neighboring countries, which we commend for their constant and unflinching support of our efforts, have confirmed this analysis of the situation.

The Transitional Committee for the Salvation of the People [CTSP] has thus set the date of 27 December for the Timbuktu conference. The preparatory meeting scheduled for last September will now be convened on 25 November in Segou. At this meeting, which will be attended by the national commission and regional preparatory committees, the situation will be assessed, a platform for the special conference will be drafted, and the actions needed to ensure the success of the Timbuktu conference will be determined.

A joint commission responsible for reception, resettlement, and relief aid will be set up. The commission will be chaired by the secretary of state for internal security and will comprise representatives appointed by the state and the various regional and local entities. It will also include the representatives of institutions and friendly countries that are assisting us in this regard. The commission's first task will be the immediate implementation of its program, distributing relief aid as it is

received. The commission will start with the aid already pledged by the EEC and France. During its field activities, the commission will enjoy the full support of all authorities, and work along with and under the moral authority of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the UN High Commission for Refugees. This will help create a conducive atmosphere of trust and security.

In order to enhance such trust and strengthen our efforts, I appeal to all our friends who had been living among us and whose support and presence were praised by our people—nongovernment organizations, development project and miscellaneous operation bodies—to return quickly to the country and resume their magnificent actions of solidarity.

I have agreed reluctantly to postpone the conference. After broad consultations and a thorough analysis of the various facets of the problem, I understood that the worst thing would be to give the nation's future authorities institutions that were created under controversial conditions and handicapped by such a serious and ominous conundrum as the northern problem.

Dear compatriots, I would now like to tell you how the leaders are approaching the problems which they deem duty-bound to solve and what their efforts have been to solve them. I would first like to commend the mature attitudes of the democratic political forces on this problem. They have agreed to leave this major national problem outside the political wrangling and electoral polemics. Particular evidence of this was given in the solemn statement made on behalf of all Malian political parties during our timely meeting on 25 October 1991.

The persistent tension in the north and the resultant unbearable atmosphere of insecurity can jeopardize both the democratization process—as stated earlier on—and our development efforts. It threatens our nation's unity and diverts us from our tasks. Unity is and will remain our common goal. The various tasks ahead in all sectors require all of our energies. Unfortunately, the principle of unity has not developed the same way in all regions and the entire country is suffering from this situation. For unity's sake, the ousted regime deemed it wise to disregard our deep-rooted regional differences. And yet such differences are great assets when understood by the entire nation.

We must endeavor to attain unity and maintain our differences. It is only when we respect our differences that every Malian, regardless of his origins, traditions, and way of life, will feel at home in his country because he will not have to choose between being a Malian and feeling at home, and fully enjoying his particular identity as a Bambara, a Tamashek, a Songhai, a Dogon, a Peul or as an Arab. National unity will thus be consolidated because we will have eliminated all sources of friction and misunderstanding. The decisions that we are going

to make should definitively eliminate these ills. To succeed, we must work to reach an agreement that will make violence unnecessary.

Composed of various groups, the northern regions have not been given due attention by the government. We must acknowledge that Mali has a debt toward part of the country. This is essentially attributable to our recent past whose liabilities are weighing hard on the nation. Long neglected, those regions were regarded as a non-productive part of Mali. Moreover, they had been hit by natural calamities. In addition to the inadequate efforts to minimize the drought's adverse effects, the widespread diversion of aid earmarked for the affected population was very detrimental to that population and to the state's credibility. This has brought about a deep-seated crisis of confidence that has seriously compounded the situation.

Some of the people involved were looked upon with distrust, and thinking that they had been outcast, retreated to the confines of their communities. Some of them even deemed it right to resort to violence. For this reason, these people have been under special security regulations. They now resent it, especially because they played an important role in establishing democracy, which resulted from a multifaceted struggle for freedom. While Tamashek youths took up arms in the north to fight despotism, other young Malians were engaged in battles in Bamako streets. Elsewhere, other forms of struggle were under way. Malian democracy should assume all those forms of struggle for freedom in their diversity. Democracy will successfully take up the challenge if it builds national unity on the foundation of such differences, which should be institutionalized and preserved through respect for our different identities. The time has come for those concerned and all the people to work in conjunction with the state to promote new practices. The various regional groups should move quickly to live in harmony again. Past injustices and disparities should also be corrected.

Answers to the northern problem should enable our masses to enjoy the much needed security. These answers should also give those who took up weapons to defend their dignity clear proof that it is within the nation that such dignity will be best preserved. Finally, those who are nothing but insubordinate elements and looters should be cast out of our society and their own communities. We should no longer hear a nomad say: We have not refused Mali; it is Mali which has refused us by rejecting our differences based on geography and history.

Our mission is to ensure that every Malian—sedentary or nomad, urban or rural dweller, from the valley or the desert—should feel that he is a full-fledged citizen who is responsible and respected; who respects, and is protected by the law; and who lives in solidarity with his compatriots. We would like all Malians to enjoy equal rights to freedom, health, education, and other facilities, and to security. They should also enjoy the fruit of economic and social development and have access to responsible functions. That is

actually our understanding of democracy and seeing to that is the task of all those who are working now to bring about democracy with the help of the whole nation. To succeed, we must acknowledge our past, accept the present, and work out rules for the future.

Fighting and violence—irrespective of those responsible—should stop because any form of violence threatens the country's balance. It has become necessary for everyone to agree to stop fighting in order to facilitate the ongoing contacts and discussions so that the peace initiative under way will be fruitful. We must objectively assess the events that bereaved the country so that adequate compensation for the attendant losses will be decided. Any other attitude would dangerously increase rancor.

Internal security should be ensured by forces close to the population. Because the nation needs the Army, the Army should limit itself to its prime mission of defending the nation's territorial integrity thereby winning back its friendship and respect. Acting in the various forms currently being defined, the Army should not just be the custodian of national security, but should also serve as a melting pot for our national unity. Our compatriots who thought it wiser to seek sanctuary abroad should come back to their country and regions. They should be received and resettled with dignity. They should enjoy security because without it we cannot restore peace.

We should all use their return to demonstrate our respect for one another. It should also be the first rapprochement and a reunion of communities as well as the first reconciliatory step, which we must pursue relentlessly, because we know from experience how enduring divisions can be. I call on local authorities to organize the return in such a way that the returnees will see this as a new beginning.

The credits from national and international sources earmarked for equipment and territorial development should be allocated in such a way that the northern regions will catch up with other regions. A mid- and long-term regional development is being drafted. It will allocate to the regions' people, who will be consulted, a sizable portion of our equipment and development budget because these regions constitute over three-thirds of our territory and because they were not given much from nature, they lag far behind the other regions. Within the framework of the constitution, the law should take into account the specific requirements of the various Malian regions. We do not mean that the north should be mandated to determine its own status by itself. We mean that consultations should be held on how to take into account the specific requirements of that region in drafting national laws.

Thus, we must organize our life and development based on the diversity of our cultures and ways of life. Based on these laws all the people of that region must live together again in mutual respect and equality. They should feel totally integrated and as one people who are beneficiaries of their country's development. We must end this latent civil war

that nobody wants to talk about and is causing so much pain. I hereby declare on behalf of all Malians that the nomads, whether they are Tuaregs, Moors, or Arabs, whether they are blacks or whites, are our brothers. We mean to share with them the same rights and duties and the same destiny in Mali, which must build its future. But also, I must tell the nomads on serious note that they must accept common discipline and contribute to this common destiny. We solemnly offer them this opportunity. They must take this opportunity so that the two major demands, namely dignity and confidence, are met. Everyone should consider these remarks as demonstrating my commitment. They demonstrate how decided I am. They constitute an appeal. By committing myself, as I am doing now, I am conscious of fulfilling my duty because I want to place Mali on the only path open to it. In doing so, I am all the more assured that the CTSP, the Government of Mali, and the political forces, all having demonstrated a very great sense of responsibility, have strongly encouraged me. They supported me because they thought the problem concerned the nation's supreme interest and they did not want the solution to be the outcome of any political wrangling which could affect our young democracy, as the case is with all other democratic systems all over the world.

Each day that brings us closer to the effective installation of the Third Republic must be a milestone. Thus, the Timbuktu conference, which has been postponed for one and a half months, will be the result of a series of discussions, contacts, and preparations that have been going on and must be continued for few more weeks so that a preagreement is reached on the major pending issues. The final agreement will be reached in Timbuktu and we must all adhere to it and make it a veritable national pact. This national pact will determine how we shall live together harmoniously, taking into account our differences, within the framework of the constitution which will be and remains our supreme code of conduct. Thus, the events of January will not be repeated. We have accepted all the decisions made at the Tamanrasset conference but as I said, we must go further. That conference was meant to find solutions for the immediate problems and to make proposals for the future. Its task was to get all the region's people involved because they are all affected and must contribute. Its task is to bring about a democratic management of the country's territorial communities. The conference was designed in particular to ensure the effective implementation of the policies adopted. It will achieve this goal, step by step, from now on. All Malians will benefit from the achievement of such a policy because we all know it is in the national interest.

Dear compatriots, this policy must not leave room for any doubt. It is aimed at building our democracy on respect for laws and citizen equality. It is aimed at encouraging development by taking into account the economic and social problems of the entire country. This policy will take into account our differences. It will make us stop jeopardizing our unity. It will contribute to our richness. As children from several ethnic groups,

endowed with original cultures and ways of life, all Malians must see themselves as full citizens of the Republic of Mali which, through me this evening, is calling on all its sons to unite.

Long live a united and democratic Mali!

### **Toumani Toure, Visiting U.S. General Hold Talks**

*AB1811175091 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du Mali Radio in French 1500 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[Excerpt] This morning the president of the Transition Committee for the Salvation of the People [CTSP] and head of state, Lieutenant General Amadou Toumani Toure, received Lieutenant General Robert Shellberg, chief of staff of the European Command of the U.S. Armed Forces, [title as heard] who is on a three-day working visit to our country. Lt. Gen. Shellberg, who is visiting Mali for the first time, expressed great pleasure over discovering our country, about which he has studied much, especially about its people and history. The discussions then centered on humanitarian assistance for which Lt. Gen. Shellberg's command is in charge; bilateral cooperation between our two countries, especially in the area of training; as well as the democratization process in Mali; the new mission of the army in a democratic context; the problem of the North; and the choice of the Malian authorities for a negotiated solution.

The president of the CTSP, Lt. Col. Amoudou Toumani Toure, hailed the dynamism of the bilateral cooperation between Americans and Malians and heartily thanked the American official for humanitarian activities in various Malian hospitals, including the Kati, Kidal, and Gabriel Toure Hospitals, especially concerning food and medical supplies. [passage omitted]

## **Nigeria**

### **Air Defense To Be Integrated Into All Services**

*AB1311151591 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1500 GMT 12 Nov 91*

[Excerpt] Nigeria air defense systems are to be integrated into the three arms of the Armed Forces for a consolidated defense of the country's airspace. The chief of Army Staff, Lieutenant General Saliyu Ibrahim, stated this in a message to the Nigerian Army Corps of Artillery exercising week at the 32d Field Artillery Brigade at Alamala near Abeokuta, Ogun State.

Gen. Ibrahim explained that the move became necessary because of recent developments in modern warfare which had showed that air attack was now a more effective weapon of aggression by the enemy. He said that an additional air defense regimen has been established because of the need to beef up the defense of the national airspace.

The chief of Army Staff urged the Corps of Artillery to direct the training of men on surveillance on what he called target acquisition process. [passage omitted]

### **Babangida Leaves for State Visit to Spain**

*AB1911135691 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 19 Nov 91*

[Text] President Ibrahim Babangida leaves Lagos today for Madrid to begin a three-day state visit to Spain. It is a reciprocal visit to the one made to Nigeria by the Spanish monarch, King Juan Carlos, in December 1986. General Babangida will be accompanied on the visit by his wife, Mariam; the minister of external affairs, Major General Ike Nwachukwu; finance and economic development, Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji; trade, Mr. Senas Ukanah; and that of special duties, Dr. Tunji Olagunju.

During the visit, Nigerian and Spanish officials will hold talks on various areas of cooperation. The president is expected back in Lagos on Thursday [21 November].

### **Presidency To Move to Abuja 12 Dec**

*AB1911205091 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1500 GMT 19 Nov 91*

[Text] The date of the movement of President Ibrahim Babangida from Lagos to Abuja has been announced. President Babangida will move from Lagos to Abuja on the 12th of next month. The minister for the Capital Territory, retired Major General Muhammadu Gado Nasko, announced this today while briefing newsmen. The minister stated that all arrangements had been completed for the smooth movement of the presidency. Details of the movement will be announced later.

Maj. Gen. Nasko expressed gratitude to Nigerian journalists for their contributions toward making the new capital a reality.

## **Senegal**

### **Armed Forces Chief Comments on Troops in Liberia**

*AB1511181591 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 13 Nov 91*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Senegal's chief of armed forces, General Mamadou Mansour Seck, has just been in Liberia to inspect the Senegalese troops assigned to the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] Cease-fire Monitoring Group] force. Ofeibea Quist-Arcton was in Monrovia and she asked the general what exactly he was doing there.

[Begin recording] [Seck] As you know, we have a contingent deployed here in Monrovia since now about a few weeks, and we are starting, we have about 500 people already, we are deploying them, we still have problem of logistics and administrative thing to do, and also we still have to appreciate the evolution of the situation. We have to go and see in Sierra Leone this ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia] problem with President Momoh and we have been trying to meet, maybe if possible, the ULIMO people but we did not see them. But I think that mostly the people are very optimistic, President Momoh is optimistic and we just saw President Sawyer. He is optimistic also.

[Quist-Arcton] Viewing the military situation and the security situation here in Liberia it took Senegal some time to commit itself to sending troops to join ECOMOG. Why did you take so long and why did it need American assistance for you to decide to help the peace process here in Liberia when from a long time ago ECOWAS had said they would like member states to send troops?

[Seck] Senegal is always eager to go somewhere even out of Africa for peacekeeping. Since now 30 years we used to do that in Middle East and Zaire and Chad and everywhere. But this time President Diouf said already

that we have a problem of financing and logistic problem because, as you know, all these countries are very poor so we cannot do that all the time and it is very heavy to send 1,500 troops outside the country. You have to give them food, they have to get maybe weapons and everything. They have to eat and have to have some health system and all that is very expensive. So, even if we like to do that we could not before. That is why we asked some help from outside.

[Quist-Arcton] I expect you will be holding talks with the Field Commander Bakut, the Nigerian field commander. Is there any sort of conflict over you being here when he is in, after all, overall command of your troops?

[Seck] No, there is no problem because we are all professional soldiers, you know. The thing is before we deploy we have a plan and in the plan the staff of ECOMOG has to make this plan with our officers too. We have to participate in the concept of the planning of the deployment. First, we have participate, we do not just obey. But when this plan is good and we agree on that we have just to obey, our troops have just to obey. There is no problem with that. We are very good brothers and friends with the Nigerians, there is no problem. [end recording]

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